



A True *874*  
RELATION

of the

UNJUST, CRUEL,

and BARBAROUS

PROCEEDINGS against

the ENGLISH at

A M B O Y N A

In the *East-Indies*, by the Nether-  
landish GOVERNOUR  
& COUNCIL there.

Also the Copie of a Pamphlet of the *Dutch*  
in Defence of the *Action*.

With *Remarks* upon the whole matter.

---

*Published by Authoritie.*

---



---

L O N D O N, 1657.

Printed by WILL. BENTLEY

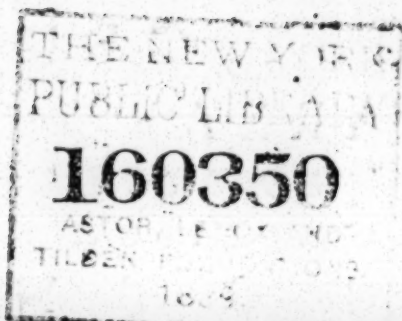
for Will. Hope, at the Anchor under S. Bar-

tholomew Church near the Royal Exchange,

and W. Stearn at the Bible in S. Pauls Church.



East India Company



To his  
EXCELLENCIE  
The  
LORD GENERAL  
CROMWEL.

My Lord,



Ee here a piece  
of Babarism,  
which hath  
lain so long  
both as an in-

jurie, and a dishonour to our  
Nation brought again to  
light, by which, as we may  
compare the difference of  
these blessed times, from those  
unhappie ones when this was  
acted and passed by; so we must  
needs remember to bless God

for that victorious hand of  
yours, which hath in so great  
a manner led us a good part  
out of the Wilderness; And  
therefore I thought it but a  
piece of publick gratitude,  
( besides private ) to throw  
it at your Excellencies feet;  
whose great soul, I presume,  
will rather descend to look  
into this busines, wherein  
your Countrey is so highly  
concerned, that in respect a-  
broad you have been a fierie  
wall about her, so at home  
you are become her great In-  
telligence, and guid those  
great motions of her peace  
and securitie: Which great  
work, as I hope God will  
grant you to see finished, so  
wish I you may live long to  
enjoy the fruits and comfort  
of it.



A N  
ADVERTISEMENT  
TO THE  
READER.



If we consider how loud and pressing the cry of blood is, or with what high severity God ever proceeds against it, though his wrath for some small time may seem to be asleep, we have just cause to fear, that there is a heavy account must be given by the *Dutch* for that execrable Tyrannie of theirs exc-

\*

3

cuted.

*To the Reader.*

cured upon the bodies of  
several *English* at *Amboyna*.  
To take away any mans  
life without due course of  
Justice, though it be with  
the greatest civility and ea-  
siness of death that could  
be, is a crime which God  
hath denounced murder, and  
will visit accordingly; but  
to heighten and multiply a  
death with all the previous  
Tortures that a passionate  
Diabolical malice can in-  
vent, cruelty inflict, or the  
frame of mans body under-  
go, is so far from being  
manly or Christian, that it  
is beyond savageness and  
bestiality, and approaches  
that accursed frame of spi-  
rit that he hath plunged  
himself into, who sits in the  
seat of darkness.

For

## To the Reader

For my part as I delight  
not to be curious in these  
speculations, which acquaint  
the mind with extremities  
and Criticisms of sin, so it is  
a grief that the Theory of  
wickedness should be so  
much enlarged as it would  
be by the treatise which  
thou hast in thy hands.  
Which, as it hath bravely  
out-done all former records  
and examples of cruelty, so  
it may unluckily possibly  
serve for instruction to  
some future inventive and  
poisoned spirits. And in-  
deed as I wish the occasion  
of publishing of it had ne-  
ver been, so do I wish ju-  
stice once required and had,  
that the remembrance of it  
might have been buried.  
But the breath being so nar-  
row



*To the Reader.*

tional, and to this day unsatisfied, and the blood there spilt no doubt crying loud, it had been injustice in us to have buried it in silence, and not displayed it to the sun. For as the beginning of those Torments were from a causeless and and flight suspicion of an improbable and ineffective plot, so by that means were we forced from our possessions in those parts, and the injury became complicated, both as against justice and interest.

True it is that the *East-India* Company made the most diligent addresses to King *James* for revenge that could be, but that blazing Star of Fortune, that was after removed by a stab,

*Table Reader.*

stab, prepossessed by a great sum of money, interposed between the judgement of that King, and over-ruled his affection, so that he, who was naturally un-active and droufie enough, being lull'd by such a *privado*, fell asleep, and snorted out the rest of his idle reign in debauchery and silence. The *East-India* Company seeing themselves obstructed in the prosecution, thought fit to preserve the memorie of such a butchery, by getting the several Tortures done at large in Oyl, but the Table was scarce sooner hung up, but the Murderers began to fear it would bleed at the nose; so that *Buckingham* was appeased by another sacrifice, and the Picture com-

1011



*To the Reader.*

commanded to be taken down.

In King *Charles*'s time the business was not stirred in, he had too great designs at home, than to preserve our Honour, or remedy our injuries abroad; but now since that yoke of Kingship is taken off our necks, we think we should like men, whose shackles are taken off them while they are asleep, leap up nimbly, and make use of our Liberty. It were the most irrational thing in the World to think of forgiving of them, who, though they received assistance from us in their greatest affliction and lowest miserie, have refused not onely to assist us now, when their case is ours, but have been  
more

*To the Reader.*

more than neutral against us, jealous, it should seem, that their way of Government, which they have so grown and thriven under, should have the same effects with us. But I hope God will give us hearts to make use of the advantages in our hands, and persist in doing wonderfull things for us. And as he hath brought us out of the desert in so high and fearfull a manner, so no doubt if we walk answerably, we shall see his countenance shine upon us, and improve this blessed peace at home, to make good our peace abroad, and so by his good assistance enjoy such earthly blessings, as may render us safe, if not terrible to the Nations round about us.

To the Reader

more than natural agitations  
as jealous, it should seem  
the way of God's  
that they may be  
shown that divine  
should have the same effect  
in us. But I hope God  
will be so good to us  
as of the same in our  
minds, and permit in doing  
wonderfull things for us.  
And as he hath brought us  
out of the darkness to light  
and into the glorious day  
of knowledge, we shall see his  
mercies and things upon us,  
and know that blessed  
state of grace, to make  
us happy eternally, and  
by his good assistance en-  
joy such earthly blessings,  
may render us able to  
triple to the Nations  
and about us.

Edw. Taylor. 1691.



To the  
**R E A D E R.**

**G**Entle Reader, thou  
mayest (perhaps) wonder why this Relation  
of the business of Amboyna,  
so many Moneths since taken  
upon the Oaths and depositions  
of our people that came  
thence, and presented to his  
Majesty, and the Lords of  
his Privy Councel, cometh  
now at last to the Press, and  
was not either sooner published,  
or altogether suppressed. The truth is; the English  
East-India Company  
have ever been very tender  
of the ancient amity and  
A good

## To the Reader.

good correspondence held between this Realm and the Neatherlands, and have been very loath, by divulging of the private injuries done them by the Neatherlands East-India Company, to give the least occasion of any distast or disaffection, which might happily grow between these two Nations, for the sake, and on the behalf of the two Companies respectively. For which cause, although the wrongs and injuries, or rather contumelies done unto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, have been as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heaps of them buried in the Amnesty of the Treaty of the year 1619. and onely to point at the general heads of those  
com-

## To the Reader.

committed since that Treaty,  
and grossely contrarie to the  
main intent, and express  
words and disposition of the  
same: first, in the point of  
hostility; the invasion of the  
Islands of Lantore and Po-  
laroone, then and before in  
the quiet possession of the  
English, in the name of the  
Crown of England; the ta-  
king of the same Islands by  
force; the razing and demo-  
lishing of the English Forts;  
the binding of the English  
(that had not so much as re-  
sisted them) to stakes with  
ropes about their necks, throt-  
tling them with the same,  
and flourishing their naked  
swords about them, as if they  
wou'd presently have di-  
spatched them; then taking  
them so amazed and bound,



## To the Reader.

and tumbling them down the rocks; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carcasses away in irons: secondly, in the point of their usurped sovereignty; their taking upon them the Consuance of controversies between the English and the Indians, for matters passed far without the compass of the Neatherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences thereupon by plain force; seizing of the English Companies goods, fining, imprisoning, stocking, yea, whipping our people at a post in the open market-place, and after, washing them with vinegar and salt: thirdly, in point of partnership with the English, their putting great sums to the common account, which

## To the Reader.

which were disbursed to the private and sole behoof of the Dutch; giving great presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English, and making war for the enlargement of their own dominions, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would arise to a just and ample volume: Nevertheless, the English Company from time to time contented themselves with informing his Majestie, and his Honorable Privy Councel with their grievances privately in writing, to the end, that necessary relief and reparation might be obtained, without publishing any thing to the World in print, thereby to



To the Reader.

stir up or breed ill blood between these Nations ; which are otherwise tied in so many reciprocal obligations. And the same course they have hitherto holden also in this crying business of Amboyna ; onely offering to the Manes of their murdered Countrey-men, Factors and Kinsfolks , their effectual endeavours in a dutifull course unto his Majesty for justice for their innocent blood , and reparation of the honour of the Nation herein interessed. In which thcir wonted way they were so constant , that they could not be driven out of the same by the contrary course of some of the other party ; that not glutted nor mollified with the blood of these innocents, nor  
with

## To the Reader.

with all the other sufferings of the English in the Indies, published a Pamphlet in print in the Neatherlands Language, not onely in justification of this barbarous butchery, but withall in disgrace of the English Nation, and the Laws and justice of the same. But behold now further, the same Pamphlet, being called in by an Edict of the States General, was yet afterwards translated and printed in English, and dispersed even in this Realm it self, to brave and disgrace us at our own dores, and in our own language. This, no English patience can bear: the bloud of the innocent cries out against it: the honour of the Nation suffereth in it. Wherefore the

## To the Reader.

*English East-India Company is hereby inforced, contrary to their desire and custom, to have recourse also to the Press, to maintain the reputation of those their Countrey-men and servants, that lost their lives unjustly; and to acquaint the World with the naked truth of this cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of factions, concealments, and crafty conveyances of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients, the Governour and Council (so termed) of Amboyna.*

*Having thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reasons why this business was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection*

## To the Reader.

jection or two more, which  
common reason will suggest  
unto thee. Without doubt,  
reading this discourse, and  
being a true Patriot of thine  
own Countrey, and a well-  
willer of the Neatherlands  
(as we presume and wish thee  
to be,) thou wilt wonder how  
it cometh to pass, that our  
Nation, which hath not been  
wont to receive such disgra-  
ces, should now be so weak  
and unprovided in the In-  
dies, as to suffer such in-  
dignities, and to be so grossly  
overtopped, outraged and  
vilified there? as a so thou  
wilt no less admire, that any  
of the Netherlands Nation,  
which hath received such  
and so many favours and  
supports from hence, and held  
so good and antient corre-

## To the Reader.

Correspondence with our Nation,  
should now offer and commit  
such odious contumelies on  
English men, their partners,  
and allies by special Treaty.  
Herein thou wilt soon answer  
thy self, if thou but consider  
the different end and design  
of the English and Dutch  
Companies trading in the In-  
dies, appearing by their se-  
veral course and practise re-  
spectively. The English be-  
ing subjects of a peaceable  
Prince, that hath enough of  
his own, and is therewith  
content, without affecting  
of new acquests; have aimed  
at nothing in their East-In-  
dia Trade, but a Lawfull  
and competent gain by com-  
merce and Traffick with the  
people of those parts. And  
although they have in some  
places



## To the Reader.

places builded Forts , and  
setled some strength , yet that  
hath not been done by force  
or violence , against the good  
will of the Magistrates or  
people of the Countrey ; but  
with their desire , consent,  
and good liking , for the se-  
curity onely of the Trade, and  
upon the said Magistrate and  
peoples voluntary yielding  
themselves under the obe-  
dience and Sovereignty of  
the Crown of England ; their  
own ancient Laws , Customs  
and Priviledges , neverthe-  
less reserved. Further, the  
same English had undoubted  
confidence in the Neather-  
lands Nation there also  
trading, especially being late-  
ly conjoynd with them in  
the strict alliance and social  
confederacy of the year 1619.  
and

## To the Reader.

and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnership. Upon these grounds, the English Company made their equipages answerable onely to a course of commerce and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Neatherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a fair and free commerce, invaded divers Islands, took some Forts, built others, and laboured nothing more, than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By which reason, as they were accordingly provided

## To the Reader.

vided of shipping, souldiers, and ali warlike provision, as also of places of Rendezvous upon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English as well as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts, and Souldiers, imployed upon these designs, rose to such an height, as was not to be maintained by the trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their own Countrey-men and Adventurers in their Company affirm) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, and so to take their ships, and make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and adventure, they proceeded also to quarrel with  
the



## To the Reader.

the English, to debar them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships and goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the year 1619. yet they saw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, unless they utterly drive the English out of the trade of those parts; thereby to have the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in these parts of Europe, in their own hands; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain and promote their conquests, and withall to yield them an ample benefit of their trading. Which unless they can, by this and the like worry-  
ing

## To the Reader.

ing and wearying of the English bring to pass, it is easie to be judged by those that underst and any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returns hereafter should prove as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they have happened to be, yet the main stock and Estate of the Company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousands of pounds yearly. Thus, Reader, thou seest what hath made us unprovided against such accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their servants in the Indies, against the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firm affection between these two Na-

## To the Reader.

Nations mutually, thus to  
degenerate, and break out  
into such strange and incre-  
dible outrages against their  
nearest allies and best deser-  
ving friends. Farewell.

---





A TRUE  
RELATION

Of the late Unjust, Cruel, and Barbarous proceedings against the *English* at *Amböyna* in the *East-Indies*, by the *Netherlanders* there, upon a forged pretence of a conspiracie of the said *English*.



After the fruitless issue of two several Treaties: the first Anno 1613. in *London*; and the other An. 1615. at the *Hague* in *Holland*, touching the differences between the *English* and *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*, at last by a third Treaty, Anno 1619. in *London*, there was a full and solemn composition made of all the said differences, and a fair order set for the future pro-

proceeding of the Supports of both Companies in the *Indies*, as well in the course of their Trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongstundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the *Hollanders*, in winning of the Trade of the Isles of the *Molluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and in building of Forts for the continual securing of the same, the said *Hollanders* therefore should enjoy two third parts of that Trade, and the *English* the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be maintained by Taxes and Impositions, to be levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore in consequence of this agreement, the *English East-India Company* planted certain Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Molluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present small occasion to speak further; but the last will prove the Scene of a sad Tragedy.

This



This *Amboyna* is an Island lying near *Seran*, of the circuit of forty leagues, and giveth name also to some other small Islands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof the *English* Company for their part had planted five several Factories: the head and Rendezvous of all, at the Town of *Amboyna*; and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and after ward Master *Gabriel Towerson*, their Agents with directions over the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the same Island, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, upon a point of their neighbouring Island of *Seran*.

Upon these Islands of *Amboyna*, and the point of *Seran*, the *Hollanders* have four Forts, the chief of all is at the said Town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong, having four Points or Bulwarks with their Curtains, and upon each of these Points six great pieces of Ordinance mounted, most of them of brass. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea, and the other is divided from the land

land with a Ditch of four or five fathom broad, very deep, and ever filled with the Sea. The garrison of this Castle consisteth of about 200 *Dutch* Souldiers, and a Company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is always a matter of three or four hundred *Mardikers* (for so they usually call the free Natives) in the Town, ready to serve the Castle at an hours warning. There lie also in the road (for the most part) diverse good Ships of the *Hollanders*, as well for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of Traffick: this being the chief Rendezvous, as well for the *Island* of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Here the *English* lived; not in the Castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their own in the Town; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both Nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here some two years, conversing and trading together with the *Hollanders*, by  
 vertue

vertue of the said Treaty. In  
 which time there fell out fundry  
 differences and debates between  
 them: The *English* complaining  
 that the *Hollanders* did not one-  
 ly lavish away much money in  
 building, and unnecessary ex-  
 pences, upon the Forts and other-  
 wise, and bring large and unrea-  
 sonable reckonings thereof to the  
 common account; but also did,  
 for their part, pay the Garrisons  
 with victuals and cloath of *Coro-*  
*mondell*, which they put off to the  
 Souldiers at three or four times  
 the value it cost them, yet  
 would not allow of the *English*  
 Companies part of the same  
 charge, but onely in ready mony;  
 thereby drawing from the *Eng-*  
*lish* (which ought to pay but one  
 third part) more than two thirds  
 of the whole true charge. Here-  
 upon, and upon the like occasi-  
 ons, grew some discontents and  
 disputes, and the complaints were  
 sent to *Jaccatra*, in the Island of  
*Java Major*, to the Council of  
 defence of both Nations there re-  
 siding: who also, not agreeing  
 upon the points in difference,  
 sent



sent the same hither over into *Europe*, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the King's Majesty, and the Lords the States General, according to an Article of the Treatie of the year 1619, on this behalf. In the mean time the discontent between the *English* and the *Dutch*, about these and other differences, continued, and dayly encreased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Jaccatra* could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

About the eleventh of *February* 1622. *Stilo veteri*. a *Japoner* Souldier of the *Dutch* in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Sentinel (being a *Hollander*), and there, amongst other talk, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is here to be noted, that those *Japoners* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did, for the

the most part, serve the Dutch as Souldiers, yet were not of their trusty bands always lodged in the Castle, but upon occasion called out of the Town to assist in the watch. This *Japoner* aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Sentinel apprehended upon suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as some of the *Dutch* affirmed) he was brought to confess himself, and sundry others of his Countrey-men there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle. Hereupon, other *Japoners* were examined and Tortured, as also a *Portugal*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*. During this examination, which continued three or four dayes; some of the *English-men* went to and from the Castle upon their business, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, & of the crime laid to their charge; But all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concern themselves, having never had any conversation with the *Japoners*, nor with the *Portugal* aforesaid.

At

Abel  
Price ex-  
amined.

(8)

At the same time there was one  
*Abel Price*, Chirurgeon of the  
*English*, prisoner in the Castle  
for offering in his drunkenness to  
set a Dutch mans house on fire.  
This fellow the Dutch took, and  
shewed him some of the *Japa-  
ners*, whom they had first most  
grievously tortured, and told him  
they had confessed the *English*  
to have been of their confederacy  
for the taking of the Castle,  
and that if he would not confess  
the same, they would use him  
even as they had done these *Japa-  
ners*, and worse also. Having gi-  
ven him the Torture, they soon  
made him confess what ever they  
asked him. This was the fifteenth  
of February 1622. *Stilo veteri.*  
Forthwith, about nine of the  
clock the same morning, they sent  
for Captain *Towersan*, and the rest  
of the *English* that were in the  
Town to come to speak with the  
Governour in the Castle: They  
all went, save one that was left to  
keep the house. Being come to  
the Governour, he told Captain  
*Towersan*, that himself and others  
of his Nation were accused of a  
con-

conspiracie to surprise the Castle, and therefore, until further Trial, were to remain prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, took the Marchandize of the *English* Company there in to their own custody by Inventorie, and seized all the Chests, Boxes, Books, Writings, and other things in the *English* house. Captain *Towerson* was committed to his Chamber with a guard of *Dutch* Souldiers. *Emanuel Tomson* was kept prisoner in the Castle; the rest, viz *John Beaumont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, *Timothy Johnson*, *John Fard*, and *Robert Brown* were sent aboard the *Hollanders* Ships then riding in Harbour, some to one Ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Governour sent to the two other Factories in the same Island, to apprehend the rest of the *English* there. So that *Samuel Colson*, *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, that were found in the Factorie at *Hitto*, and *Edward*

Collins , William Webber , and  
 John Sadler at Larica , were all  
 brought prisoners to Amboyna, the  
 sixteenth of February. Upon  
 which day also John Powl , John  
 Webberal , and Thomas Ladbroke  
 were apprehended at Cambello,  
 and John Beomont , William  
 Grigs , and Ephraim Ramsey , at  
 Lobo , and brought in irons to  
 Amboyna the twentieth of the  
 same moneth. In the mean time  
 the Governour and Fiscal went  
 to work with the prisoners that  
 were already there : And first  
 they sent for Iohn Beomont , and  
 Timothy Iohnson , from aboard  
 the Unicorn ; who being come  
 into the Castle , Beomont was  
 left with a guard in the Hall,  
 and Iohnson was taken into an-  
 other room. Where, by and by,  
 Beomont heard him crie out ve-  
 ry pitifully ; then to be quiet for  
 a little while , and then loud  
 again. After taste of the torture,  
 Abet Pace the Chirurgion , that  
 first was examined and tortured  
 ( as is above remembred ) was  
 brought in to confront and ac-  
 cuse him : But Iohnson not yet  
 con-



confessing any thing , *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought again to the torture ; where *Beomont* heard him sometime crie aloud , then quiet again , then roar afresh. At last, after he had been about an hour in this second examination , he was brought forth wailing and lamenting , all wet , and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body , and so laid aside in a by-place of the Hall , with a Soldier to watch him that he should speak with no body. Then was *Emanuel Tomson* brought to examination ; not in the room where *Johnson* had been , but in another , something farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont* being in the Hall , heard him roar most lamentably , and many times. At last , after an hour and an half spent in torturing him , he was carried away into another room another way , so that he came not by *Beomont* through the Hall. Next , was *Beomont* called in , and being demanded many things , all which he denied with deep Oaths and protestations ,

*Emanuel  
Tomson  
examined.*



was made fast to be Tortured, a cloath tied about his neck, and two men ready with their Jarres of water to be poured on his head. But yet for this time the Governour bad loose him, he would spare him a day or two, because he was an old man. This was all Saturdays work, the fifteenth of *February* afore said.

Upon Sunday the sixteenth of *February*, *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson*, *William Grigs*, and *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, and *John Sadler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately, upon their arrival, brought into the *Castle Hall*.

Robert  
Brown  
examined.

*Robert Brown Tailor* was first called in; and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the *Fiscal* asked him.

Edward  
Collins  
examined.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessarie to the plot of taking the *Castle*. Which,

when

when he denied with great Oaths and execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Rack, bound a cloath about his throat, ready to be put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confess all. Being let down, he again vowed and protested his innocencie; yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confess any thing, though never so false, they should do him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speak it, to avoid the torture. The Fiscal hereupon said; What, do you mock us? and bad, Up with him again, and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let down again to his Confession. Then he devised a little with himself, and told them, That about two moneths and a half before, himself, *Tomson, Johnson, Brown, and Fardo*, had plotted, with the help of the *Japoners*, to surprise the Castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscal, and asked whether

Captain *Towerson* were not of that conspiracie. He answered, No. You lie, said the Fiscal; did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the *Dutch* had caused him to think of a Plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one *John Joest* that stood by, Did not you all swear upon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great Oaths, that he knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bad make him fast again: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscal asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this Plot. He answered, No. The Fiscal then asked him, whether the President of the English at *Jaccatra*, or Master *Welden* Agent in *Banda*, were not Plotters or privy to this business. Again he answered, No. Then the Fiscal asked him, by what means the *Japanners* should have executed their pur-

purpose. Whereat, when *Collins* stood staggering and devising of some probable fiction, the Fiscal help him, and said, Should not two *Japoners* have gone to each point of the Castle; and two to the Governours Chamber door; and when the hurly-burly had been without, and the Governour coming to see what was the matter, the *Japoners* to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscal, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speak of himself. Whereupon the Fiscal, without attending the answer to his former question, asked what the *Japoners* should have had for their reward. *Collins* answered, 1000. Royals apiece. Lastly, he asked him, when this plot should have been effected. Whereunto, although he answered him nothing (not knowing what to devise upon the sudden) yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come clear of the Torture, though with certain belief that he should die for this his confession.

Samuel  
Colson  
examined.

Next was Samuel Colson brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched, and was the same day brought to the Torture, who, for fear of the pain wherewith he saw Collins come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blown out of his head with the Torment of water; chose rather to confess all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, coming out weeping, lamenting, and protesting his innocencie.

John  
Clark  
examined.

Then was John Clark, that came with Colson from *Hitto*, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to crie out again, They Tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of two hours. The manner of his Torture (as also of Johnsons and Tomsons) was as followeth: First they hoisted him up by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him fast upon two staples of Iron, fixt on both sides at the top of the dore posts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made



made fast, his feet hung some two foot from the ground; which also they stretcht asunder as far as they would reach, and so made them fast beneath unto the dore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his neck and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water softly upon his head untill the cloath was full up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that he could not draw breath, but he must withall suck in the water: which being still continued to be poured in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his nose, ears, and eyes, and often, as it were stifling and choaking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a swoon or fainting. Then they took him quickly down, & made him vomit up the water. Being a little recovered, they triced him up again, & poured in the water as before, & soon taking him down as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or four several times with water, till his bo-



dy was swoln twice or thrice as big as before, his cheeks like great bladders, and his eyes staring and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this he bare, without confessing any thing; inso-much as the Fiscal and tormentors reviled him, saying, that he was a Diuel, and no man, or surely was a Witch, at least had some charm about him, or was enchanted, that he could bear so much. Wherefore they cut off his hair very short, as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoisted him up again as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottom of his feet, untill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applied they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbows, and in the palms of the hands; likewise under the arm-pits, untill his inwards might evidently be seen. At last, when they saw he could of himself make no handsome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed.

Being

Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, he answered, yea, to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a body of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captain *Tower* had upon New-years day last before, sworn all the *English* at *Amboyna* to be secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the help of the *Japoners*, to surprize the Castle, and to put the Governour and the rest of the *Dutch* to death.

Having thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by four Blacks: who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or six dayes, without any Chirurgeon to dress him, untill (his flesh being putrified) great Maggots dropt and crept frō him in a most loathsome and noisome manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath dayes work; & it growing now dark, sent the rest of the *English* (that came that day from *Histe*, & till the attend- ed in the Hall) first to the Smith's Shop, where they were loaden with Irons, and then to the same loath-

loathsome dungeon, where *Clark* and the rest were, accompanied with the poor *Iaponers*, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning being Monday the seventeenth of February, old stile, *William Griggs* and *Iohn Fardo*, with certain *Iaponers*, were brought into the place of examination.

*William Griggs examined*

The *Iaponers* were first cruelly tortured, to accuse *Griggs*, which at last they did: and *Griggs*, to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscal demanded. By and by the like also was done by *Iohn Fardo*, and other *Iaponers*: but *Fardo* himself endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscal asked him, and so was sent back to prison.

*Iohn Fardo examined*

*Iohn Beomont examined*

The same day also *Iohn Beomont* was brought the second time to the Fiscal's chamber; where one *Captain Newport* a Dutch man's son (born in England) was used as an Interpreter. *William Griggs* was also brought in to accuse him; who said, that when the consultation for taking of the

Castle

Castle, was held, then he (the said Beomont) was present. Beomont denied it with great earnestness and deep Oaths. At last being triced up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the Fiscals interrogatories: yet as soon as he was let down, he clearly demonstrated to Captain Newport, and Iohnson a Dutch Merchant, then also present, that these things could not be so. Nevertheless he was forced to put his hand to his confession, or else he must to the torture again, which to avoid, he subscribed; and so had a great iron boft and two shackles riveted to his legs, and then was carried back to prison.

After this, George Sharrock, Assistant at Hittro, was called in question; who, seeing how grievously others were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God (as since upon his Oath he hath acknowledged) that he would suffer him to make some such probable lies against himself, as the Dutch might believe, and so he might

George Sharrock  
examined

might escape the torment. Being brought to the Rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiscal examined, and charged with the conspiracie. He fell upon his knees, and protested his innocencie. Then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him; Unless he would confess, he should be tormented with fire and water to death, and then should be drawn by the heels to the gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in this his innocencie, the Fiscal bad him be hoisted up. Then he craved respite awhile, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Amboyna*, upon New-years day, when the consultation was pretended; neither had been there since *November* before, as was well known to sundry of the *Hollanders* themselves that resided there also with him. Hereupon, they commanded him again to the Rack: but he, craving respite as before, now told them, that he had many times heard *John Clark* ( who was



was with him at *Hitto*) say, That the *Dutch* had done them many unsufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged of them: to which end, he had once broken with Captain *Towerson* of a brave Plot. At which word the Fiscal and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, saying, that *John Clark* had intreated Captain *Towerson*, that he might go to *Maccasser*, there to consult and advise with the Spaniards to come with Gallies, and rob the small Factories of *Amboyna* and *Seran*, when no ships were there. Here they asked him, what Captain *Towerson* said to this. He answered, that Captain *Towerson* was very much offended with *Clark* for the motion; and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiscal called him Rogue, and said he prated all from the matter, & should go to the torture. He craved favour again, and began another tale; to wit, that upon Twelf-day then last past, *John Clark* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a practise to



to take the Castle of *Amboyna*; and asked him, whether he would consent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark*, whether Captain *Towerson* knew of any such matter. Which, *Clark* affirming; then he (the said *Sharrock*) said, that he would do as the rest did. Then the Fiscal asked him, what time the consultation was held. He answered, In *November* last. The Fiscal said, That could not be: for, the consultation was upon *New-yerrs* day. The Prisoner said as before in the beginning, that he had not been in *Amboyna* since the first of *December*, till now that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiscal, have you belied your self? whereto the Prisoner resolutely answered, that all that he had spoken touching any treason, was false and feigned, onely to avoid torment. Then went the Fiscal out into another room to the Governour, and anon returned, and sent *Sharrock* unto the Prison again. The next day he was called again, and a writing presented him; wherein was framed

framed a formal confession of his last conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the plot to take the Castle of *Amboyna*: which being read over to him, the Fiscal asked him, whether it were true, or no. He answered, No, Why then, said the Fiscal, did you confess it? He answered, For fear of Torment. The Fiscal and the rest in a great rage told him he lied; his mouth had spoken it, and it was true, and therefore he should subscribe it. Which as soon as he had done, he fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly to be guiltie of the innocent bloud of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the day of Judgement: withall he grappled with the Fiscal, and would have stopped him from carrying in the confession to the Governour, with whom he also craved to speak; but was instantly laid hold on, and carried away to prison.

*William Webber*, being next examined, was told by the Fiscal, that *John Clark* had confessed him

*William  
Webber  
examined.*

him to have been at *Ambogna* on New-years day, and sworn to Captain *Towerson's* plot, &c. All which he denied, alledging, he was that day at *Larisa*: yet being brought to the torture, he then confessed, he had been at the consultation at *Ambogna* upon New-years day, with all the rest of the circumstances in order as he was asked. He also further told them, he had received a letter from *Iohn Clark*; after which was a Postscript, excusing his brief writing at that time, for that there was great business in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant, then standing by, told the Governour, that upon New-years day, the time of this pretended consultation, *Webber* and he were merrie at *Larica*. So the Governour left him, and went out. But the Fiscal held on upon the other point, touching the Postscript of *Clark's* Letter, urging him to shew the same. Which when he could not do, though often terrified with the torture, he gave him respite; promising to save his life, if he would produce that Letter.

Then

Then was Captain *Towerson* Gabriel Tower-son examined, brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. He deeply protesting his innocencie, *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him: who being told, that unless he would now make good his former confession against Captain *Towerson*, he should to the torture, coldly re-affirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Grigs* & *John Fardo* to justify their former confessions to his face. Captain *Towerson* seriously charged them, that as they would answer it at the dreadfull day of Judgment, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fel down upon their knees before him; praying him for Gods sake to forgive them, & saying further openly before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken onely to avoid torment. With that the Fiscal & the rest offered them again to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true.

When

When *Colson* (who had accused Captain *Towerson* before) was required to set his hand to his confession, he asked the Fiscal, upon whose head he thought the sin would lie; whether upon his that was constrained to confess what was false, or upon the constrainers. The Fiscal, after a little pause upon this question, went in to the Governour then in another room; but anon returning, told *Colson* he must subscribe it: which he did; yet withall made this protestation: Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse my self and others of that which is as false, as God is true: for, God is my witness, I am as innocent as the child new born.

Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English* Company in the several *Factories* of the Island of *Ambogna*.

John  
Wetheral  
examined.

The one and twentieth of February, they examined *John Wetheral*, Factor at *Cambello* in the Island of *Seran*. He confessed, he was at *Ambogna* upon New-years day: but for the consultation, whereof he was demanded, he



he said he knew of no other but  
 touching certain cloath of the  
*English* Company, that lay in the  
 Factories rotting and worm-  
 eaten, which they advised toge-  
 ther how to put off to the best  
 avail of their Employers. The  
 Governour said, they questioned  
 him not about cloath, but of  
 reason: whereof when he had  
 protested his innocencie, he was  
 for that time dismissed. But the  
 next day he was sent for again,  
 and Captain *Towerson* brought to  
 confront and accuse him, having  
 before (it seems) confessed some-  
 what against him. But Mr. *Tow-  
 erson* spake now these words  
 only: Oh, M. *Wetheral*, M. *We-  
 theral*, speak the truth, and no-  
 thing but the truth, as God shall  
 put into your heart. So Captain  
*Towerson* was put out again, and  
*Wetheral* brought to the torture  
 of water with great threats; if  
 water would not make him con-  
 fess, fire should. He prayed them  
 to tell him what he should say,  
 or to write down what they  
 would, he would subscribe it.  
 They said, he needed no Tutor;  
 they



they would make him confess of himself. But when they had triced him up four several times, and saw he knew not what to say, then they read him other mens confessions, & asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and he still answered, Yea, to all.

John  
Powl exam-  
ined.

Next was called in *John Powl*, *Wetherals* assistant at *Cambello*: but he, proving that he was not at *Amboyna* since November (save now when he was brought thither prisoner) & being spoken for by one *Iohn Iooft*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was dismissed without torture.

Thomas  
Ladbrook  
examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, servant to *Wetheral* & *Powl* at *Cambello*, brought to be examined: but proving that he was at *Cambello* at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, he was easily and quickly dismissed.

Ephraim  
Ramsey  
examined.

*Ephraim Ramsey* was also examined upon the whole pretended conspiracie, and particularly questioned concerning Captain *Vel-*

den the *English* Agent in *Banda*, but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-years tide, being also spoken for by *Iohn Iorft*; was dismissed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with irons upon his legs, and the cloath about his mouth.

Lastly, *Iohn Sadler*, servant to *William Grigs* at *Larica*, was examined; and being found to have been absent from *Ambayna* at New-years tide, when *Grigs* and others were there, was dismissed.

*John Sadler*  
examined.

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the work of 8. days, from the 15. to the 23. of *February*. After which, was two dayes respite before the sentence. *John Powl*, being himself acquitted as before said, went to the prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of those that had accused *Captain Tower-son*. To him *Fardo* religiously protested his innocencie; but especially his sorrow for accusing *Master Tower-son*: for, said he, the fear of death doth nothing dismay me; for, God (I trust) will be mercifull to my soul,

ac-

according to the innocencie of my cause. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through fear of Torment I have accused that honest and godly man Captain *Towerson*, who (I think in my conscience) was so upright and honest towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much less would attempt any such business as he is accused of. He further said, he would before his death receive the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that he had accused Captain *Towerson* falsely and wrongfully, onely through fear of Torment.

The five and twentieth of *February*, old stile, all the prisoners, as well the *English*, as the *Portugal* and the *Iaponers*, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except *Iohn Powell*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, *Iohn Sadler*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, formerly acquitted, as aforesaid.

Captain *Towerson* having been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come to speak

speak with him ; writ much in  
 his Chamber ( as some of the  
 Dutch report, ) but all was sup-  
 pressed, save onely a Bill of debt,  
 which one *Th. Iohnson*, a free  
 Burgher got of him by favour of  
 his keepers for acknowledgement,  
 that the English Company owed  
 him a certain sum of mony. In  
 the end of this Bill he writ these  
 words: *Firmed by the Firm of me*  
*Gabriel Towerson now appointed*  
*to die guiltles of any thing that can*  
*be justly laid to my charge. God*  
*forgive them their guilt ; and re-*  
*ceive me to his mercie. Amen.* This  
 Bill being brought to *M. Welden*  
 the English Agent at Banda, he  
 paid the money, and received in  
 the acknowledgement.

*William Griggs* ( who had be-  
 fore accused Captain *Towerson* )  
 writ these words following in  
 his Table-book: *We, whose names*  
*are here specified ; John Beomont,*  
*Merchant of Lohu, William*  
*Griggs Merchant of Larica, Abel*  
*Price, Chirurgian of Amboyna.*  
*Robert Brown, Tailor, which do*  
*here lie Prisoners in the Ship*  
*Rotterdam, being apprehended*  
 C for

for conspiracie, for blowing up the  
 Castle of Amboyna: we being  
 judged to death this fifth of March.  
 Anno 1622. which we through  
 torment were constrained to speak  
 that which we never meant, nor once  
 imagined; the which we take upon  
 our deaths and salvation: they tor-  
 tured us with that extream torment  
 of fire and water, that flesh and  
 bloud could not endure: and this we  
 take upon our deaths, that they have  
 put us to death guiltless of our ac-  
 cusation. So therefore we desire,  
 that they that shall understand this;  
 that our Employers may understand  
 these wrongs, and that your selves  
 would have a care to look to your  
 selves: for their intent was to have  
 brought you in also; they askt cōcer-  
 ning you; which if they had tortured  
 us, we must have confessed you also.  
 And so farewell; written in the dark.

This Table-book was after-  
 wards delivered to M. Welden  
 afore-named by one that served  
 the Dutch

Samuel Colson also, another that  
 accused Captain Towerson, writ as  
 followeth in the waste leaves of a  
 book, wherein were bound toge-  
 ther



ther the Common-Prayers, the Psalms, and the Catechism.

*In one page thus ;*

March 5. *Stilo novo*, being Sunday, aboard the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons :

**U**Nderstand that I Samuel Colson, late Factor of Hitto, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracie ; and for any thing I know, must die for it : Wherefore, having no better means to make my innocencie known, have writ this in this book, hoping some good Englishmen will see it. I do here upon my salvation, as I hope by his death and passion to have redemption for my sins, that I am clear of all such conspiracie ; neither do I know any English man guilty thereof ; nor other creature in the World. As this is true : God bless me.

Sam. Colson.

On the other side, upon the first page of the Chatechism, is thus written :

**I**N another leaf you shall understand more, which I have written in this book.

Sam. Colson.



In the beginning of the Psalms  
and in the leaf so referred unto,  
is thus written, viz.

**T**He Iapons were taken with  
some villany, and brought to  
examination: being most tyrannous-  
ly tortured, were asked if the Eng-  
lish had any hand in their Plot.  
Which torture made them say,  
Yea. Then was Master Tomson,  
M. Johnson, M. Collins, John  
Clark brought to examination, and  
were burned under the arms, arm-  
pits, the hands, and soles of the feet,  
with another most miserable tor-  
ment to drink water; some of them  
almost tortured to death, and were  
forced to confess that which they  
never knew, by reason of the tor-  
ment which flesh and bloud is not  
able to endure. Then were the rest  
of the English men called one by  
one ( amongst which I was one )  
being wished to confess, or else  
must go to torment; withall caused  
M. Johnson, who was before tor-  
mented, to witness against me, or  
else he should be tormented again;  
which rather than he would endure  
he said, What they would have, he  
would

would speak. Then must I confess that I never knew, or else to go to torment; which rather than I would suffer, I did confess that, which (as I shall be saved before God Almighty) is not true, being forced for fear of torment. Then did they make us witnesse against Captain Towerlon, and at last made Captain Towerlon confess all, being for fear of most cruel torment: for which we must all die. As I mean and hope to have pardon for my sins, I know no more than the child unborn of this business. Written with my own hand the first of March; Stilo novo.

Sam. Colson.

Yet in another page were these words:

**I** Was born in New-Castle upon Tyne, where I desire this book may come, that my friends may know of my innocencie.

Sam. Colson.

This book he delivered to one that served the *Hollanders*, who sowed it up in his bed, and afterward, at his opportunity delivered it to M. *VVelden* before named

All these said writings are yet extant under the hands of the several parties, well known to their friends here in *England*.

The six and twentieth of February, *Stilo veteri*, the Prisoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Castle ( except Captain *Towerson* & *Emanuel Tomson* ) to be prepared for death by the ministers. The *Japoneers* now all in general, as some of them had done before in particular, cryed out unto the English, saying; Oh you English men, where did we ever in our lives eat with you, talk with you, or ( to our remembrance ) see you? The English answered, Why then have you accused us? The poor men, perceiving they were made believe each had accused others, before they had so done indeed; shewed them their tortur'd bodies, and said, If a stone were thus burnt, would it not change his nature? how much more we that are flesh and blood?

Whil'st they were all in the Hall, Cap. *Towerson* was brought up into the place of examination and two great Jarres of water carried after

after him. What he there did or suffered was unknown to the English without : but it seemeth they made him then to underwrite his confession. After supper *John Powl*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Th. Ladbroke*, and *Iohn Sadler*, who were found not guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another room. By and by also were *Samuel Colson*, and *Edward Collins* brought from the rest; into the room where *Emanuel Tomson* lay: The Fiscal told them, it was the Governours mercie, to save one of them three: and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lots for it, which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*; who then was carried away to the Chamber, where *John Powl* and the rest that were quit, lodged, and *Samuel Colson* back into the Hall. Anon also *John Beomant* was brought out of the Hall into the Chamber, where *John Powl*, and the rest of the acquitted persons were, and was told, that he was beholding to

*Peter Iohnson* the Dutch Merchant of *Lobo*, and to the Secretarie; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the Hall ten of the English; for Captain *Towerson* & *Emmanuel Tomson* (as is said before) were kept in several rooms apart from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall, came the Dutch Ministers, who telling them how short a time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions; for it was a dangerous and desperate thing, to dissemble at such a time. The English still professed their innocencie, and prayed the Ministers that they might all receive the Sacraments, as a seal of the forgiveness of their sins; and withall, thereby to confirm their last profession of their innocencie. But this would by no means be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colson* said thus unto the Ministers; You manifest unto us the danger of dissimulation in this case. But tell us, if we suffer guiltless, being other wise also true

be-



believers in Christ Jesus, What shall be our reward? The Preacher answered, By how much the clearer you are, so much the more glorious shall be your resurrection. With that word, *Colson* started up, imbraced the Preacher, & gave him his purse,, with such money as he had in it, saying; *Domine*, God bless you: tell the Governor, I freely forgive him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of his bloody tragedy, wrought upon us poor innocent souls. Here all the rest of the English signified their consent to this Speech. Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest, in presence of the Ministers, as followeth: My Countrey-men, and Brethren, all that are here with me cōdemned to die, I charge you all, as you will answer it at Gods judgement seat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confess the truth for satisfaction of the World. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loud voice, saying, According to my innocencie in this

treason, so Lord pardon all the rest of my sins: and if I be guilty thereof more or less, let me never be partaker of thy heavenly joyes. At which words every one of the rest cried out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another begging forgiveness for their false accusation, being wrung from them by the pains or fear of torture. And they all freely forgave one another: for none had been so falsely accused but he himself had accused another as falsely. In particular, *George Sbarrock* (who survived to relate this nights passage) kneeled down to *John Clark*, whom he had accused of the tale at *Hitto* above mentioned; and craved forgiveness at his hands. *Clark* freely forgave him, saying; how should I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you, having my self so falsely accused *Captain Towerson*, and others?

After this, they spent the rest of the dolefull night in Prayer singing of Psalms, and comfort

ing one another; though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drink *Lustick*, and drive away the sorrow; according to the custom of their own Nation, in the like case, but contrarie to the nature of the English.

Upon the morrow morning, being the execution day, the 27. of February, *Stilo veteri*, *John Powl* being freed (as is above recited) came into the room where the condemned persons were, and found them at Prayer. They all requested him to relate unto their friends in England, the innocencie of their cause; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confessed against themselves & others touching this crime, was all false, & forced by fear of torture.

The same morning *William Webber* was called again into the Fiscals room, and there pressed to produce the letter, which he had before confessed to have received from *John Clark*, in the *Postscript* whereof some great business was intimated. They promised him his life, if he would deliver

deliver or produce them that letter : which although he did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sharrowck* with him.

That morning *Emanuel Tomson* understanding that *John Beomont* was pardoned, made means to have him come and speak with him; which, with much ado, he obtained. *Beomont* found him sitting in a Chamber, all alone in a most miserable fashion; the wounds of his torture bound up, but the matter & gore-bloud issuing through the Rollers. He took *M. Beomont* by the hand, and prayed him, when he came into England, to do his duty to the Honourable Company, his Masters, to *M. Robinson*, and to his brother *Billingfley*, and to certify them of his innocencie, which (said he) you your self know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall along by the Chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who stood

stood in the dore, to give and take the farewell of their Countrey-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpose, they prayed and charged thole, that were saved, to bear witness to their friends in England of their innocencie, and that they died not Traitors, but so many Innocents, meerly murdered by the Hollanders, whom they prayed God to forgive their blood-thirstiness, and to have mercie upon their own souls.

Being brought into the Yard, their sentence was there read unto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the place of execution, together with nine *Japons* and a Portugall: not the ordinarie and short way, but round about in a long procession, through the Town; the way guarded with five Companies of Souldiers, Dutch and Amboyners, and thronged with the Natives of the Island, that (upon the summons given the day before by the sound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this triumph of the Dutch  
over



over the English. *Samuel Colson* had conceived a Prayer in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocencie: which Prayer he read to his fellows the night before, and now also at the place of execution devoutly pronounced the same; then threw away the paper, which the Governour caused to be brought to him, and kept it,

*Emanuel Tomson* told the rest he did not doubt but God would shew some sign of their innocency; and every one of the rest took it severally upon their death, that they were utterly guiltless; and so one by one with great cheerfulness suffered the fatal stroke.

The *Portugal* prayed over his Beads very devoutly, and often kissed the Cross; swearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this treason: yet confessed, that God had justly brought this punishment upon him, for that having a wife in his own Countrey, he had, by the perswasion of the Dutch Governour, taken another in that Countrey, his first being yet living.

The

The *Japans* likewise ( according to their Religion ) shut up their last Act with the like profession of their innocencie. So there suffered ten English men, viz. Captain *Gabriel Towerson* the Agent of the English at *Amboyna*, *Samuel Colson* Factor at *Hitto*, *Emanuel Tomson* Assistant at *Amboyna*, *Timothy Johnson* Assistant there also, *John Wetheral* Factor at *Cambello*, *John Clark* Assistant at *Hitto*, *William Griggs* Factor at *Larica*, *John Fardo* Steward of the house, *Abel Price* Chirurgian, and *Robert Brown* Tailor.

The *Portugal* also suffered with them. His name was *Augustin Perez*. He was born at *Bengala*.

The names of the *Japoneses* that suffered ( if any be curious to know them ) were as followeth :

<i>Hititso,</i>	} all born at <i>Firando</i> .
<i>Tsiosa,</i>	
<i>Sinsa.</i>	
<i>Sidney Migiel,</i>	} born at <i>Nagansacque</i> .
<i>Pedro Congie,</i>	
<i>Thome Corea.</i>	

*Quis-*

*Quiandayo* native of *Coraets*.  
*Tfabinda* of *Tsoncketgo*.  
*Zanchoe* of *Fisien*.

Besides these, there were two other *Japoneses*; the one named *Soyfimo*, born at *Firando*; and the other *Sacoube*, of the same place: the former of which being tortured, confessed both to have been privy to this pretended treason, and to have offered his service unto the English to aid them in taking of the Castle: and the latter confessed to have had knowledge of the consultation of the other *Japons* to this purpose. But neither of them was executed, nor so much as condemned. The reason whereof was not known to the English that were saved.

They had prepared a cloath of black Velvet, for Captain *Towersons's* body to fall upon; which being stained and defaced with his bloud, they afterwards put to the account of the English Company.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darkness,

ness, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; where-  
 by two of the Dutch ships, riding  
 in the harbour, were driven from  
 their Anchors, and with great  
 labour and difficulty saved from  
 the Rocks. Within a few dayes  
 after, one *William Danckin*, who  
 had told the Governour, That  
*Robert Brown*, the English Tail-  
 our, had a few Moneths before  
 told him, he hoped, that within  
 six Moneths the English should  
 have as much to do in the Castle  
 of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch: This  
 fellow, coming upon an evening  
 to the grave where the English  
 were buried, being all (save Cap-  
 tain *Towersson*) in one pit, fell  
 down upon the grave; and ha-  
 ving lien there a while, rose up  
 again stark mad, and so conti-  
 nued two or three dayes toge-  
 ther, and then died. Forthwith  
 also fell a new sickness at *Amboy-  
 na*, which swept away about a  
 thousand people Dutch and *Am-  
 boyners*: in the space wherein,  
 there usually died not above  
 thirty at other seasons. These  
 signs were by the surviving Eng-  
 lish,

lish referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomfon* above-named, and were by the *Amboyners* interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous Tyranny of the *Hollanders*.

The next day after the execution, being the eight and twentieth of February, *Stilo veteri*, was spent in Triumph for the new General of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publick rejoycing for the deliverance from this pretended treason. The day following, being the first of March, *Iohn Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governour; who told *Webber Beomont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in Honour of the new General; and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to stand to the favour of the General. So the Governour made them drink wine with him, and curteously dismissed them: willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saved, who were fit to be placed in the several Factories. Which done, and their opinions re-



reported to the Governour, he accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the patronage and Government of the English Companies business. To which purpose, he had within a few dayes past opened a Letter that came from the English President at *Iaccatra*, directed to Captain *Torrerson*; being ( as he said ) the first English Letter that ever he intercepted; further, saying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the English at *Iaccatra* were innocent touching this business.

The Governour and Fiscal having thus made an end at *Ambayna*, dispatched themselves for *Banda*: where they made very diligent enquiry against Captain *Welden*, the English Agent there; yet found no colour nor shadow of guilt to lay hold on: but at last entertained him with courteous speeches, professing to be very glad, that they found him, as well as the English at *Iaccatra*, to be without suspicion of this Treason ( as they tearm it.)

Cap-

Captain *Welden*, perceiving the disorder and confusion of the English Companies affairs at *Amboyna*, by means of this dealing of the *Dutch*; forthwith hired a *Dutch Pinnace* at *Banda*, and passed to *Amboyna*: where, instantly upon his arrival, he re-called the Companies servants, sent (as before) by the *Dutch Governour* to the upper-factories.

Having enquired of them, and the rest that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceedings lately passed, he found, by the constant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no such Treason of the English as was pretended: as also understanding what strict command the Governour had given to the surviving English, not once to talk or confer with the Countrey people concerning this bloody business, although the said Countrey people every day reproched them with treason, and a bloody intention to have massacred the Natives, and to have ripped up the bellies of women with child, and such like stuff; wherewith the

the Dutch have possessed the poor Vulgar, to make the English odious unto them. The said *M. Velden* therefore finding it to sort neither with the Honour nor profit of the English Company, his Masters, to hold any longer residence in *Amboyna*, he took the poor remnant of the English along with him, in the said hired *Pinnace* for *Iaccatra*; whither the Governour had sent *John Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercie of the General.

When this heavy news of *Amboyna* came to *Iaccatra* and the English there, the President forthwith sent to the General of the Dutch, to know by what Authority the Governour of *Amboyna* had thus proceeded against the English, and how he and the rest of the Dutch there at *Iaccatra*, did approve these proceedings. The Governour returned for answer, that, The Governour of *Amboyna*'s Authority was derived from that of the Lords States General of the United Neather-

Neatherlands; under whom he had lawfull Jurisdiction both in Criminal and civil causes, within the district of *Amboyna*; further, that such proceeding was necessary against Traitours, such as the English executed at *Amboyna*, might appear to be by their own confessions: a Copy whereof he therewith sent to the English President; who sent the same back to be Authentickly certified, but received it not again.

Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked Narration of the Progress and passage of this action, as it is taken out of the Depositions of six several English Factors; whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted in this Process of *Amboyna*: all, since their return into England, examined upon their Oaths in the Admiralty Court. The particular of Captain Tomson's, as also of Emanuel Tomson's examinations and answers, are not yet come to light, by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himself; nor any other of

English suffered to come to speak with them, except onely that short Farewell, which *John Beomont* took of *Tomson* the morning before the execution before mentioned. The like obscurity is yet touching the examinations and answers of diverse of the rest that are executed; being, during their imprisonment, so strictly lookt to, and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their miseries.

But because the Hollanders defend their own proceedings by the confessions of the parties executed, acknowledging severally under their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiss to recollect and recall unto this place, as it were unto one sum and totall, certain circumstances dispersed in several parts of this Narration; whereby, as well the innocencie of the English, as the unlawfull proceedings against them, may be manifested.

First therefore it is to be remembered, that the *Japons* were ap-



apprehended, examined, and tortured three or four dayes, before the *English* were attached; and the same as well of their apprehension, as torture, was rife and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the parts adjoyning *Tomson*, in this *interim*, and the very first day of the examination of the *Japon*, went to the Castle to ask leave of the Governour to land some Rice, and brought back the news with him to the English house of the cruel handling of these poor *Japons*. This had been *Item* enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves: whereto also they had ready means by the *Curricuries* or small Boats of the *Amboyners*, which lie along the Strand in great number, wherewith they might easily have transporred themselves to *Serang*, to *Bottoom*, or to *Macassar*, out of the reach and Jurisdiction of the *Dutch*: but in that they fled not in this case, it is a very strong presumption, that they were as little privy to any treason of their own, as suspicious of any

any treacherous man laid for their blouds.

In the next place let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to achieve this pretended enterprise.

The Castle of *Amboyna* is of a very great strength ( as is before declared; ) the Garrison therein two or three hundred men, besides as many more of their free Burgers in the Town. What their care and circumspection in all their Forts is, may appear, not only by the quick Alarm they now look at the foolish question of the poor *Japon*, made to the Sentinel above-recited; but also by that which a little before happened at *Paccatra*, where one of their Souldiers was shot to death for sleeping in the watch.

Durst ten English men ( whereof not one a Souldier ) attempt any thing upon such a strength and vigilancie? As for the assistance of the *Japons*, they were not ten neither, and all un-armed as well as the English: For, as at the seizure of the English house, all the provision therein found

D

was

was but three swords, two Muskets, and half a pound of powder: so the *Japons* (except when they are in service of the Castle, and there armed by the *Dutch*) are allowed to have no Arms, but only a *Catan*, a kind of short sword: and it is forbidden to all the *Dutch*, upon great penaltie, to sell any hand-gun, powder or bullets to the *Japons* or *Amboyners*. But let it be imagined, that these 20 persons *English* & *Japons*, were so desperate as to adventure the exploit; how should they be able to master the *Dutch* in the Castle, or to keep possession when they had gotten it? what second had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinace of the *English* in the harbor. All the rest of the *Japons* in the Island, were not twenty persons, and not one *English* more. The nearest of the rest of the *English* were at *Banda*, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and those but nine persons, all afterwards cleared by the Governour and *Fiscal* themselves from all suspicion of this pretended crime, as were also the rest of the *English* at *Jaccatra*.

On the other side, besides the strength of the Castle and Town of *Amboyna*, the *Hollanders* have three other strong Castles, well furnished with Souldiers in the same Island, and at *Cambello* near adjoyning. They had then also in the road of *Amboyna* eight Ships and Vessels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200 Tun, the *Uicorn* of 300 Tun, the *Free-mans* Vessel of 100 Tun, the *Calck* of 60 Tun, Captain *Gamals Junck* of 40 Tun, the *Flute* of 300 Tun, the *Amsterdam* of 1400 Tun, and a small Pinnace of about 60 Tun; and all these well furnished with men and Ammunition. It is true, that the Stories do record sundry valiant and hardy enterprises of the *English* Nation, and *Holland* is witness of some of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the *English* resolution; yet no Storie, no Legend scarcely reporteth any such hardiness, either of the *English* or others, That so few persons, so naked of all provisions & supplies, should undertake such an adventure upon a counter-party,

so well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all these difficulties; yet to what end and purpose should they put themselves into such a jeopardie? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both companies at home, That the Forts in the *Indies* should remain respectively in the hands of such, as had possession of them at the date of the Treaty, *Anno 1619.* and that the same was ratified by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords States General. They knew likewise, and all the world takes knowledge of his Majesties Religious observation of Peace and Treatie with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world: what reward then could these English hope for, of this their Valour and danger? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the Treaty it self, that is, To be punished as the disturbers of the Common Peace, and Amity of both Nations.

But



But let these *English* men have been as foolish in this plot as the *Hollanders* will have them; is it also to be imagined, that they were so graceless, as when they were condemned, and seriously admonished by the Ministers to discharge their consciences, yet then to persist in their dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly behaviour, as to spend the time in Prayer, singing of Psalms, and spiritual comforting one another; which the *Dutch* would have had them bestow in drinking, to drive away their sorrow? Let *Colsons* question to the Minister be considered: his and the rests offer and desire to receive the Sacrament, in sign and token of their innocencie; their mutual asking forgiveness for their like false accusations of one another, forced by the Torture; *Tomsans* last farewell to *Beomont*; *Colsons* prayer, and his writing in his Prayer book; *Fardo's* farewell to *Powel*; also his conjuring exhortation to his fellows, to discharge their consciences, and all their answers thereunto; praying Gods

mercie or judgement according  
 to their innocencie in this cause;  
 their general and Religious pro-  
 fession of their innocencie, to  
 their Countrey men, at their last  
 parting with them, and finally,  
 the sealing of this profession with  
 their last breath and bloud, even  
 in the very Article of death, and  
 in the stroke of the Execution-  
 ner. What horrible and unex-  
 ampled dissimulation were this?  
 If some one or more of them had  
 been so fearfully desperate, yet  
 would not there one amongst  
 ten be found to think of the  
 judgement to come; whereunto  
 he was then instantly summoned  
 without Effoin, Bail, or Main-  
 prise? What? had they hope of  
 reprieve and life, if they kept their  
 countenance to the last? Yet  
 what hope had *Tomson* and the  
 rest, when Captain *Towerson's*  
 head was off? Nay, what desire  
 had *Tomson* and *Clark* to live,  
 being so mangled and martyred  
 by the Torture? They were exe-  
 cuted one by one, and every one  
 severall took it upon his death  
 that he was guiltless.

Now

Now to blanch and smooth over all this rough and Barbarous proceeding ; it is here given out, that the Governour and Fiscal found such evidence of the plot, and dealt so evenly in the process, that they spared not their own people ; having used some of their Native *Hollanders*, partakers of this treason, in the same manner as they did the *English*. But this, as well by the Relation here truly and faithfully set down, grounded upon the sworn Testimonie of six credible witnesses, as also by other sufficient reports of diverse (lately come out of those parts) appeareth to be a meer tale, ~~not once~~ alledged by any in the *Indies* in many moneths after the execution, but onely invented and dispersed here, for a *Fucus* and a fair colour upon the whole cause, and to make the world believe, that the ground of this Barbarous and Tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the insatiable covetousness of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel treachery to gain the sole trade of the *Molluccos*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*,

which is already become the event of this bloody process.

To adde hereunto by way of aggravation, will be needles; the fact is so full of odious and barbarous inhumanity, executed by *Hollanders* upon the *English* Nation, in a place where both lived under Terms of partnership and great amity, confirmed by a most solemn Treaty.

---



# A TRUE DECLARATION

Of the News that came out of  
the *East-Indies*, with the *Pin-*  
*nace* called the H A R E,  
arrived in *Texel* in  
*June*, 1624.

C O N C E R N I N G  
*A Conspiracie discovered in the Island*  
*of Amboyna, and the punishment,*  
*following thereupon, according*  
*to the course of Justice, in*  
*March 1624. compre-*  
*bended in a Letter*  
*Missive;*

A N D S E N T  
From a Friend in the *Low-Countries*,  
to a Friend of note in *England*,  
for information of him in the  
Truth of those passages.



Printed, Anno 1651.



THE NEW YORK  
PUBLIC LIBRARY

160350

ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.  
1899

vers of us, divers wayes, and also slain some, and we notwithstanding could not obtain any punishment upon them. And as one outrage (unpunished) provokes many more, through hope of the like impunity, or other considerations; so were the said *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and those near adjoining places proceeded further, and have armed themselves at Sea, and invaded divers Islands, and places, standing under the *Neatherlands* Governour in *Amboyna*, spoiling them, and killing our Subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for Slaves. And notwithstanding the instant request of the *Neatherlands* Gouvernour, no satisfaction, or Justice, hath followed; but the said *Tarnatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* Merchants, and to spoil and to burn the *Logie*, or *Factorie*, which our people have many years there enjoyed: so that our Merchants have taken out the *Dutch* goods, to avoid dammage:  
 And

And the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually set on fire, and ruined the said *Neatherlands* Factorie. In the *Manichels* (an Island being under the Province of *Amboyna*) they have in like manner shortly after, burned the *Neatherlands* Logie, with the loss of all the goods therein. The *Neatherlands* Governour, that by his presence and Authority, he might cause such Rebellions to cease, and to give order for time to come, and also to seek satisfaction, and punishment upon the aforesaid insolencies; went toward *Lobo*, with a small power of Sloops, and coming thereabout, was met (otherwise than was wont) by a Navie of Sloops of the *Tarnatans* of *Lobo*, stronger than his were. These (by their conference) gave him well to know, how little reverence they gave the *Dutch* Governour: they braved him, without hope of restitution of any thing to come; so that, (nothing done) he was fain to return to his Castle of *Amboyna*. By reason of these things, the said *Tarnatanes* became so stout and daring,

daring, that they gave out openly, that they would come, and spoil our Subjects by a general Army, with above an hundred *Friggots*: with these, they said they would come against *Amboyna*, to make a universal spoil of our people; through which, there came a great fear upon the *Indians*, standing under the Subjection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as also over the *Neatherlanders*.

In the Islands lying far Eastward of *Banda*, it was also said, and the News went currantly there, That the *Hollanders* were sure enough quit of the Castle of *Amboyna*; And at that time there were divers secret correspondencies between the *Indians*, & others, which gave us great suspicion. By this means the *Neatherlands* Governour, and Councel of *Amboyna*, were moved to have special regard, and look narrowly unto all things, seeing that it might be thence clearly gathered, that something might be plotted against the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* (of themselves) durst

E

F

durst not offer to undertake any such great design, without some great help of some of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, or some other; and also, they understood, that they of *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great secret cor-

G

respondence with the *English Merchants*. When things were in such a state in *Amboyna*, there came forth and was wonderfully discovered, in February 1623. a horrible conspiracie against the Castle, and Person of the *Dutch Governour*, and the whole state of *Amboyna*: and first, by the apprehension of a certain *Japonian* (a complice of the feat) who at an unseasonable time was often seen upon the wall of the Castle, where he also over-curiously enquired of the most unskilfull and silliest Souldiers, touching the setting, and change of the Watch, and what number of people might be in the Castle, and many other things. Whereupon, in the very Act, the said *Japonian* was apprehended, and being examined of many circumstances, he confessed that the *Japonian Souldiers* under



der our service , had decreed to make themselves Masters of the Castle, and that they should have set upon this by the help of the *English* , who had solicited them unto it ; and that he, with all the other *Japonians* in the *English* house , often-times within three Moneths before-going , had conferred with the *English* (whom he there named , by their names) touching the manner , whereby they should bring this treacherie to pass, Hereupon it came to pass, that all the *Japonian* Souldiers, which were in our service , were disarmed, and imprisoned, and by examination of them all , it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joynt-confession , that all the said *Japonians* , upon the intreaty of *Gabriel Tower*son, and other *English* Merchants & Officers agreed to assist the said *English*, to betray the Castle. and to give it over into the *English* power: & that *Gabriel Tower*son, and *Abel Price* (an *English* Chirurgion) and other *English* dealt often with them ( whom he named by their names) of the way and means, how they should work it;

it; the said *Abel Price* being before imprisoned, for a foul, and execrable fact, and yet remaining in duration.

And although it appeared sufficiently to the Governour, and Council of *Amboyna*, out of the confession of the *Japonians*, what the said *Gabriel Towerfon* with his Merchants and other Complices, had before resolved to do, and that the Council had sufficient information to imprison them all; yet the General Council would not precipitate, but commanded the said *Abel Price*, (who was in prison) to come before the Council, and (after the places, persons, & time, nominated to him, where and when he had dealt with the *Japonians*, and other English, about the said treachery) it was also from him well understood, how he (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriel Towerfon*) and another *Japonian*, (who was then also in prison) had perswaded all the *Japonians*, to consent to this villany, and that consequently the said *Towerfon*, as the first Author, and all the other English Mer-

Merchants, ( being in the Foreign Cantore of the Province of Amboyna ) had also knowledge of the said treacherie.

Upon this full and unifom examination, and confession of 12 persons, as well of the 11 *Japoneans*, as one English, is the said *Gabriel Towerfon* called to the Councel, and there appearing, the said *Towerfon* called together all his people unto the Castle, upon the request of the General Councel, who were there taken, & imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Towerfon* himself, to whom (upon his request) and in regard of his qualitie, being chief Merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the English Companie; his own house was allotted him for his safe keeping, and forth-coming, And the said Prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them jointly, according to their own confession ( every one having under-written it with his own hand ) as followeth:

*Gabriel Towerfon*, about New- H  
years day 1623. having with him  
al-

almost all the *English* Merchants of the forreign *Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he assembled them in his Chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of great moment to impart unto them, (which he alone could not effect) under the fidelity of an Oath to be taken before, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein; saying, It is necessarie so to be: for if the thing should come abroad, which I shall make known unto you, it will cost all our lives. Whereupon the holy Gospel was produced, upon which every one, who was present did swear secrecie & fidelitie, as was required. Then *Towerfon* (after a Preface) opened to the conspiratours, how he had a way and means to make himself Master of the Castle of *Amboyna*. And whereas some present made it difficult to do, being too weak for it: the said *Towerfon* answered, That he had already won to his purpose the *Iaponian* Soldiers who were in the Castle, and that they should execute his purpose when the *Dutch*, who were

I

were in the Castle, were in their greatest weakness: and worst provided, or ( unawares ) when the Governour should be about some exploit; and that they should wait till some *English* Ships, or Ship, were in *Ambayna*; whose People he might employ in this attempt; as also, when as all other the *English* Merchants, and slaves of the Foreign Cantore in *Ambayna*, should be sent for to the Castle. And said further, That he knew how to get men enough & they should leave this to his care, and themselves to their best; and that they of *Lob* should also come to help him with certain *Corrersorens*, &c. Upon which inducemēts, all that were present swore to assist *Tower-son* herein. And concerning the manner of Execution, the said *Tower-son* had prescribed to the *Japonians*, which were in the Castle, that they should send to every point of the Bulwarks two men, and the rest, in the Court attend the Governour, and to murder him, & that at the sign which should be given to the *English*, they



they should make themselves Masters of every point of the bulwark, and kill all who should resist, and imprison the rest; and further should take, and divide between themselves, and the Japonians, the goods of the Dutch East Indian Company, except a thousand Royals of eight; which every Japonian should have before, and that they should kill the Citizens, who would not consent with them, and do them all the mischief they could. And touching the time, he had not yet certainly set it, but that there should suddenly be another assembly of the conspirateurs, when *Gabriel Tower*son would give order for all things, and give a sign to the Japonians, whereupon, when they shewed it, they should begin the work within.

L The said *Gabriel Tower*son being asked in particular; what moved him to such a wicked fact; he answered, the desire of Honour and profit. Being further demanded, who should enjoy that Honour and Profit, and for whom he would have taken the

the

the Castle: he answered, That if  
 he did obtain his desire, he should  
 presently have advertised those of  
 his Nation being in *Baravia*; and  
 called for their help; who if they  
 had sent him succour, he would  
 have kept the Castle for his own  
 Company; viz. (for the *English*  
*East-Indian Company*) and if not,  
 he would have held it for him-  
 self, and have endeavoured a  
 peace with the *Indians*, that so  
 by the one means or the other, he  
 might attain his purpose. After  
 the examination of *Towerfon* was  
 ended, the *Dutch Governour* in  
*Amboyna* upbraided *Towerfon* of  
 his cruel intent, and asked, if this  
 should have been the recompence  
 of the manifold Honours, and  
 kindneses he had done unto him.  
 Whereto *Towerfon* answered with  
 a deep sigh, Oh, if it were to be  
 begun, it should not be done.  
 This voluntarie confession, and  
 penitent acknowledgement, with  
 much sorrow, was made the 9. of  
 March, being the day when the  
 execution should have been done;  
 but the examination of *Towerfon*  
 was ended the 18. of February,

M

so many dayes before. This is the substance of the confessions of 10 Japonians, of 14 English, and of a Neatherlandish Merinbo, or Captain of the Slaves; who all confirmed these their confessions with their own hands.

What crime this intended prodiction was, is hence very manifest, and undoubted: what punishment is due to treacherie, according to the Law and Customs of all Nations, is also well known: no true Christian man will patronage any such horrible attempt, but will adjudge it worthy of death, as it was determined upon the compli-ces of this conspiracie, according to order of Justice, as there in *Amboyne* it is exercised (according to desert) by the Governour and Councel, in the name of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States*.

Here you have (Sir) the very substance of the Truth, both of the Fact and punishment; other than which, many things are spread abroad in *England*, but upon what pretence, or intendment, I know not; let the matter it self speak for it self.

The first point, which is objected against this Justice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are said to be holden without formality, and with extremity, against these conspiratours: Your *Worship* (and each reasonable man) knoweth, that every land hath their Laws and Ordinances, and their particular manner of proceedings, as well in Civil as in Criminal causes. *England* hath hers, *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*, *Neatherland*, and all other Kingdoms and Governments have also theirs, which are just and lawfull to every one in their Dominion; so that, when any man will judge of the equitie or injustice of a proceeding used in any Land, he must examine the same according to the Laws & customs of that Kingdom or Dominion, where the Justice & Proceedings were holden. These Proceedings were holden by the *Neatherlandish* Governour, in the name of the Illustrious Lords, the *States*, having supream Power, many years since in the *Isles of Amboyna*,

Object. 1.

N

which were conquered ( in the  
 name of the said Lords, the *States* )  
 from the *Spaniards*, or *Portugals*,  
 who held that Castle in the name  
 of the King of *Spain*, our heredi-  
 tarie enemy ; therefore they are  
 now possessed in the name of the  
 Lords, the *States* , and are under  
 their Dominion, by a just and  
 Lawfull Title of War, according  
 to the Law of Nations. There  
 ( among other things ) Justice is  
 administred according to the  
 Law of the *Netherlands*, in that  
 manner as was used in the pro-  
 ceedings against these conspira-  
 rours. I know that the Laws of  
*England* are divers from ours in  
*Criminal* cases, yea, and from all  
 the Nations in *Europe* : howbeit  
 therefore , no man hath any  
 ground of reason to say , that the  
 proceedings of the *English* judges  
 ( holden in *England* ) against De-  
 linquents , are not legitimate,  
 though the said *English* proceed-  
 ings do varie in the manner from  
 the proceedings of *France* , *Spain*,  
 &c. where other customs are : for  
 that is lawfull , which agreeth  
 with the Laws of that Land  
 where



where the fact is committed. Now then the *Japonian* Souldiers, being in the service of the *Neatherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are discovered to have conspired against the Castle, and the Governour there, under whose Oath and pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and convicted of the said conspiracie. This proceeding is Lawfull, and toucheth no man, because the said *Japonians* knew no other Master than the *Neatherlanders*, under whose Oath, service, and pay they stand. All these *Japonian* conspiratours with the said *Merincho*, a Captain of the *Neatherlands* Slaves, confessed with one mouth, that they were moved and induced to this conspiracie, by the *English* Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not onely the right of *Neatherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole World requireth, that the Authors, abettours and complices of Murder and Treason, should be punished with death; whereto, according to the common Laws,

as also the particular Laws of every Kingdom or Dominion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should be imprisoned, not onely for preventing the effect of their evil purpose, but that they might also receive their deserved punishment : which apprehensions, could not ( in that place ) be done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands* Governour, to whom it belongeth to take care, to see every act concerning Supreme power to be there observed; and especially ( all other reasons ceasing ) the highest *English* Officers there, could not apprehend these *English* Conspirators, because all the chief of the *English* Merchants in *Amboyna* were themselves of the conspiracie, and complices of the fact, upon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* complices must be done by the *Dutch* Governour, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custom of all Nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may be holden

holden more Lawfull; it appear-  
eth out of the written proceſs, that  
the ſaid *English* complices were  
not imprifoned upon the firſt ſu-  
ſpicions & groſs evidences, which  
were had againſt them, but then at  
laſt, when all the *Japonian* Soul-  
diers were taken, examined, and  
convicted, and had diſcovered  
by the uniform confeſſion of all  
the eleven, the names and ſur-  
names of ſuch *English* as had per-  
ſwaded and hired them to this  
fact; of which *English*, viz. (one  
*Abel Price*, Barber) was before  
apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for  
burning and violence done upon  
other houſes, who alſo was firſt  
examined & firſt confeſſed (as the  
other 11 *Japonians*) that he (by  
name, *Gabriel Towerſon*) & other  
*English* Merchants, whom he na-  
med by their names, had ſuborned  
the ſaid *Japonian* Souldiers, and  
that all the *English* Merchants in  
the *Forreign Cantores* in *Amboy-  
na*, had knowledge of this conſpi-  
racie, &c. So that it may be ſeen,  
out of that which went before,  
that the *Dutch* Governour dealt  
no otherwiſe in the apprehenſion,

and examination of the *English*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great discretion, according to the Law of these United Provinces.

Subject

2.

Q

The second point which is abusively dispersed in *England*, against this execution, is, that it is said, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlanders* in *Ambogna* to imprison the said *English*, and to proceed against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the Council of Defence resident at *Jaccatra*, consisting half of *English*, and half of *Netherlanders*, according to the Treaty of the year 1619. made between his Majesty and the Lords the States between the two *East-India* Companies. That I might the better inform my self thereof, I took in hand, and perused the general Treaty of 1619. with the explication following thereupon; but I profess, that (as I think) every understanding man, (not loving discord) must confess, that neither in the said Treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one Article or word could be per-

perceived, whereby ( according to that which is untruely said in *England* ) either this, or any such thing is ordained, or decided, by the said Treaty, as it ought to have clearly been in so great and important a point, as this part of Jurisdiction is. I appeal to all wise men, who I desire may judge of this, whether this speech of some in *England* ( to wit, that the said Council of defence should ( alone ) have judged these conspiratours ) be agreable to the said Treaty, or contrarie to the same. I find many Arguments for my Negative opinions, to wit, that before the Treaty of 1619. the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* administred Jurisdiction, and Judicature, upon all and every one who dwelt in or under the Jurisdiction of the Castle, as well inhabitants as strangers, without difference; and that in this said Treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *Englisb* Merchants, made onely a league in the matter of commerce and Negotiation of *Nutmegs*, *Mace*, *Cloves*; and *Pepper*, in some quarters, without having any further Trea-



tie, or communication in the  
 land; so that without the bounds  
 of this common Negotiation,  
 every one remained free, and un-  
 hindered in the land by the right  
 and possession which either Com-  
 pany enjoyed, and exercised sever-  
 rally, according as the same ap-  
 peareth out of the 23 Article of  
 the Treatie: where it is expressly  
 said; *That Castles and Furts shall*  
*remain* in their hands who at pre-  
 sent do possess them: And out  
 of the 13. 14. 15. Articles of the  
 Treatie, all may see, that this  
 common Councel of Defence  
 hath no more power, save onely  
 over the fellowship of the Trea-  
 tie, that is, over the Navie of  
 defence in the Sea, to the de-  
 fence of the common Merchan-  
 dize, and liberty of commerce;  
 and lastly, to tax the charges  
 for the provision of ammunition  
 in the Ports: neither can any o-  
 ther thing be sincerely collected  
 out of the said Treaty, so far as  
 I can conceive. Therefore this  
 second point is found to be un-  
 true and abusive, being not  
 founded upon the said Treatie,  
 which

which Treatie (notwithstanding)  
ought to be the onely rule, both of  
the one and the other Company.

Finally, it is given out in *Eng-  
land*, that in the examination of  
the Conspiratours there was ex-  
cess in the *Neatherlands* Judges,  
in the point of Torture: I ac-  
knowledge, that no argument or  
pretext against the Justice of this  
execution, hath more moved me  
in the beginning, than this pre-  
tence of excess aforesaid; because  
this stirreth Christian compassion;  
although I also judge, that wise  
men will not suffer themselves to  
be too much transported thereby,  
before the true reasons do fully  
appear, which should move us  
thereunto. For, I well remember  
yet, that in the time of former mi-  
stakings in the *Indies* many things  
were pretended on both parts, up-  
on which, there were great outcries  
one either side, which yet, by due  
examination, were found to be  
(though fair, yet) false pretenses of  
some ill-willers and men desirous  
to wrangle: which pretences being  
thoroughly sifted by the High and  
much admired wisdom of his Ma-  
jesty,

R

*jeſty*, & the Lords, the *States*, were  
 well diſcovered to be no ſuch  
 matters as they were made : as  
 is alſo undoubtedly to be believed,  
 that his *Majeſty*, and the *States*,  
 will yet further do in this affair  
 and for the cauſe of the *Dutch*  
*Company* may be (in the carriage  
 hereof) rightly juſtified. Of  
 which I underſtand that the  
 Lords the *States* have ſpecial re-  
 gard, and that they have been  
 thoroughly informed, what is the  
 very truth of the things there  
 paſt, and of the Execution in  
*Ambayna* upon the *Engliſh* con-  
 ſpiratours. Unto which end the  
 Lords the *States* reſolved to ſee  
 and peruſe all the Papers and  
 Letters, touching the ſaid pro-  
 ceedings : And now thereupon  
 men ſpeak far otherwiſe than  
 heretofore ; for pretences, and ca-  
 vi's (being once detected) cannot  
 ſtand with truth. And it doth  
 plainly appear, that there is little  
 truth in the matter of Torture  
 reported to be moſt cruelly infi-  
 cted upon theſe *Engliſh* conſpi-  
 ratours, as in *England* it is ſaid.  
 And I have ever ſuſpected the

for a slander : for I know the Dutch Nation doth naturally abhor this kind of cruelty , and are as much moved to commiseration , as any other people . But whether these evil minded men, who have scattered this great slander in *England* , and have so fowly defaced a just cause , have done it by occasion of our use of Tortures in these Lands , in some weighty causes, according to the custom of the most Dominions of *Europe* ; I cannot Judge . But is that to be censured & Judged to be unjust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the Laws of *England* , (or any one Nation) where Torture is rarely used ? Nothing so ; but the Justice or injustice of a cause must be (as aforesaid) determined, according to the Laws where it is done, and not of other Lands . If this were not so , why then should not the whole World much more Judge that as a hard, & a thing unheard (and therefore condemnable ) which in some causes is used in *England* , according to the Laws there , when they proceed against some

some guiltie persons ; who being  
 once & again asked of the Judge,  
 and utterly refusing to be legally  
 tried , is adjudged as dumb, that  
 is , by contumacie ; whose con-  
 demnation then accordingly fol-  
 loweth , that he is laid upon a ta-  
 ble , or plank , and another plank  
 upon him , and so much weight  
 of stone or lead laid upon him,  
 that his body is miserably bruised,  
 and so pressed violently to death.  
 The which , according to the  
 confession of all Nations , ( espe-  
 cially, because this kind of justice  
 is not used in other Lands ) and  
 by the *English* writers , is judged  
 to be one of the most sharp and  
 severe kinds of death , that can be  
 invented ; yet cannot such an ex-  
 ecution be called cruel and un-  
 lawfull , when it is done in *Eng-  
 land* , because it is done accord-  
 ing to the Laws of that Land,  
 though strangers shall judge o-  
 therwise of it. And in like man-  
 ner the *English* Nation cannot  
 complain of the Torture which  
 evil-willers say , was used upon  
 these *English* Conspiratours in  
*Amboyna* , because it is done ac-  
 cord-



according to the Laws of this Government, and is not unusual in cases of Treason, neither with us, nor (almost) any Nation in *Europe*. And for *England* it self, it is well known (and his most excellent *Majesty* doth acknowledge by his own Princely pen) that the *Rack*, and the *Manicles*, are the onely Tortures, that are exercised upon Traitors, to force them to confess, (*without concealment*) what they know to be dangerous to the *State*.

And to say the Truth, without taking parts, the *English* Conspiratours being affronted with the uniform & written confessions of the 11 *Japonians* (their complices) which could convince them sufficiently according to the laws, & find them guilty of the same conspiracie, & consequently of death: if now, notwithstanding this they had persisted in the stout denial of the fact, were not this, (to speak according to the manner in *England*) enough to judge them dumb by contumacie, and so to esteem them worthy of this sore punishment of Pressing to death,

death, as is afore-said; but this torture of ours ( if any in *Amboyne* were so tortured ) is to be judged far less, than that pressing, where the Malefactor doth suffer such extreame miserie, as cannot be imagined, and which is not to be lenified or eased at all, but ended by death. But to the sufficient satisfaction of my self, and your Worship, and all men, and not to speak according to the sentence, and conscience of others; I have used all diligence to get into my hands the written *Process*, concerning the Conspirators in *Amboyne*, which I obtained authentically, and read carefully, and I find, that all that is by me abovesaid, is confirmed, to wit, That the *Japonian* Complices were examined, and made their confessions as afore-said, for three dayes, viz. the 23, 24, 25. of *February*, 1623. and that all this being done, and consummated before, then at last, is *Gabriel Towerson*, first with the rest of the *English* Complices imprisoned, the said 25. of *February*, when their examination and con-

confession began, & continued di-  
 vers dayes, without over-hasting  
 till the third of *March*. And the  
 said examinations and confessi-  
 ons being so finished, the *Neather-*  
*lands* Governour and Councel,  
 deliberated whether the punish-  
 ment might be deferred to any  
 long time, or referred to any  
 other place; but it was so con-  
 cluded by joynt consent of all,  
 that the said punishment (there  
 deserved) must be executed in the  
 same place for example, and that  
 it could not (in any wise) be de-  
 layed without extream danger,  
 for reasons there related; and  
 among others, because the *Tar-*  
*natanes*, and *Indians* about *Am-*  
*boyna*, had otherwise than they  
 were wont, rebelled; neither could  
 it be fully known, what great cō-  
 federacie these Conspiratours had  
 made with them, and others.  
 And touching any extraordina-  
 rie, and cruel Torture, I have ac-  
 curatly over-looked every ones  
 confession, but I find not one  
 word in any one, which maketh  
 any mention of such Torture, as  
 is unjustly spoken of in *England*;  
 nay,

nay, scarce find any mention of  
 that ordinarie Torture, which is  
 in use, save onely these words, in  
 one act of the 25 February 1623.  
*viz. The Councel being gathered to-  
 gether, have thought meet, that all  
 the English should be presently ex-  
 amined one after another (as accord-  
 ingly it was instant'y done) and  
 some of them, before any torture,  
 others, after a little (or rather a  
 touch) of it. confessed as followeth.*  
 Unto which, followeth presently,  
 the particular confession of each  
 one, subscribed with his own  
 hand, as aforesaid. So that hence  
 it is manifest, that no extraordi-  
 narie Torture was used, in such  
 manner as is given out there, by  
 those that wish us evil; nay, that  
 those few that felt any, were onely  
 touched (not punished) with  
 ordinarie Torture.

S And thus your Worship hath  
 the upright, and impartial truth  
 of this business, touching the  
 whole passage as it proceeded, and  
 the punishment as it was inflicted,  
 from which, some *English* were  
 exempted by favour, that the  
*English* goods should not be lost,

According as order hath been given to that end : And I find that the sentence was given the ninth of *March* 1623. by a competent assembly of 14 Judges; who, (as it appeareth in the sentence) in the doing thereof did (before) earnestly call upon the Name of the Lord, that he would please to be President and Predominant in every one of their hearts in this their *sorrowfull assembly*; and that he would inspire them onely with that which might be judged to be expedient and just, &c. So that out of all that is above said, nothing else can appear, but that this business was managed lawfully, and orderly, by men of honesty and conscience, against such as had undertaken against the *State*, against the wealth and advantage of this *East-India Company*, the lives of their Officers there placed, against the estate and welfare of many, who had little deserved, and as little expected such wickedness from their friendly confederates in the same societie of Merchants, there resident with them.

And



And now (considering the premises) I hope it shall be far from every Christian in any wise to protect or excuse this wicked Fact, but rather to mourn and grieve (as we do) for this conspiracie, and for the evil, the Conspiratours have so deservedly drawn upon their own heads; and to honour them, who in Justice have punished villany, according to the due merit thereof; for we all know, that without JUSTICE, without reward of that which is Good, and punishment of that which is Evil, no societie of mankind can consist.

And of this information, (which I send in love, and honour to your *Worship*, as unto a *lover of Truth*, and a *bater of Treacherie*) you may make such use, as to you shall seem good, in any place where you come, both for *refutation* of any thing already reported contrarie thereunto, and for *prevention* of any further false rumours, or clamours; and finally, for *propagation* of that undoubted truth, which *here* (to my

my best) I have endeavoured to discover. And if you shall meet with any thing of worth; which can be truly avowed, to be contradictory unto any thing I have written, I desire to understand it from you, and you to suspend your wise and impartial judgement, till I have cleared it unto you. **TRUTH** remaineth ever the same. So I commend you to the *God of Truth*, desiring him to give us minds, *Not to judge according to outward appearance, but to judge with a righteous judgement.*

From my Lodging,  
July 23. 1624.



A N



M  
an  
no  
wi  
ur  
ve  
s b  
en  
ll  
ng  
vr



A N  
A N S W E R

To the *Dutch* Relation,  
touching the Pretended  
*Conspiracie* of the *Eng-  
lish* at A M B O Y N A  
in the *Indies*.

**H** He Compiler of this  
Relation, percei-  
ving that he had an  
hard task to make  
it probable, that  
eighteen *Englishmen*  
Merchants and their servants, all  
un-armed, should, with the help  
and assistance of ten *Japons*, like-  
wise un-armed, undertake the  
surprize of a Castle, so provided  
every way, as that of *Amboyna*,  
as before in the Relation of the  
*English* truly described to be: as  
also the same Author, well weigh-  
ing, that albeit all that he was to  
write of this pretended *Conspi-  
racie*,

*racie*, should be taken for true, yet the fact would seem very poor to bear so rigorous a punishment in persons of that quality, and of that Relation to those that inflicted it; provides more skilfully than fairly, for both these points in the preamble of this Relation: To this end, he rakes and heaps together all the jealousies and dangers that the *Dutch* had in the *Indies*: yea, and more than they truly had, at or about the time of the pretended conspiracie, and applies them all to the suspicion of this business: as if all their enemies were likely to conspire with the *English*; and therefore the fact, under colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable; and as if the state of the time had been then so dangerous, that every shadow of conspiracie was to be exquisitely enquired of, & the least offence to be severely punished. Wherefore although this be no direct charge of the *English*, but used by the Author to supply the want of probabilities in the process it self, it will not be amiss



miss to examin the several circumstances , and how far they may yield any suspicion against the said *English*.

Now this Authour taketh the main grounds of this suspicion of some great plot against the Province of *Amboyna* , from the unwonted boldness and insolencies of the *Ternatans* ; first in the *Molluccos*, and then in *Amboyna*. For those in the *Molluccos* , he saith, they had lately before the pretended conspiracie of the *English*, gone about , contrarie to the Treatie, Anno 1606. between them and the *Dutch* , to make peace with the King of *Tedore*, and truce with the *Spaniard* , without the consent or knowledge of them, the *Dutch* : which now honestly and conscionably it is alleadged to this purpose, may appear by the Journals of those parts, which evidently shew, that this Treaty between those of *Ternata* and *Tedore* , was in November 1621. that is to say , fifteen Moneths before this forged conspiracie ; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governour

vernour of the *Dutch*, who, upon the 19 of *November* the year aforelaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the *English* in those parts, with the preparations of this Treatie, which was actually holden at *Ternata* the 24 of the same moneth. But the matter was so well handled by the *Dutch*, to keep those neighbour Islands in perpetual War, that the Treatie was dissolved *re infecta*: And the seventh of *December* following, an Edict was published by the King of *Ternata*, commanding all the *Tedorians* forthwith to depart the Island of *Ternata*, upon pain to be made Slaves. After this, the correspondence between the *Dutch* and *Ternatans* in the *Moluccoes*, returned into as firm state as ever; the *Ternatans* performing dayly exploits against the *Spaniards*, and communicating the Triumph with the *Dutch*: As the seventeenth of *February* 1622. being a full year before the feined Treason of the *English*, the King of *Ternata*, with twenty *Curricuries*, took a *Spanish*

nish Galley, flew forty in fight,  
 and took 150 Prisoners, whom  
 they sold to the Dutch for Cloath  
 and Rice : and coming by the  
 Hollanders Castle of Mualato, the  
 eighteenth of the same Moneth,  
 with the heads of divers Spa-  
 niards at his Stern, the Dutch  
 saluted him from their said Ca-  
 stle with nine shot of great Ord-  
 nance. The 25 of April follow-  
 ing, the Admiral of the King of  
 Ternata took a Priz of the Spa-  
 niards, slew some, and sold the  
 rest to the Dutch. The 28 of the  
 same Moneth, both Dutch and  
 English were feasted by the King  
 of Ternata. The 22 of May next  
 ensuing, the King of Ternata  
 went forth to Machian with six  
 Curricurries, and at his departure  
 was honoured with thirty shot of  
 great Ordinance from the Dutch  
 Castle. The 15 of June the Ad-  
 miral of the King of Ternata  
 made a Voyage towards Minda-  
 nao, carrying divers of the Dutch  
 with him to assist him. The third  
 of July the Ternatanes took other  
 Prisoners, and sold them to the  
 Dutch. The 24 of August the

King of Ternata made one *Hogler* a Dutch Merchant his Treasurer at whose instalment in his new Office, the Dutch gave seven great shot from the Castle. And this good correspondence, between the Ternatans and the Dutch in the *Molluccos*, continued even untill, and after the execution of the English at *Amboyna* which was (as hath been shewed) in February, 1623. *New stile*. Upon the 14 of which Month, the Dutch gave the King of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bails of Japan Rice, with other presents: at the delivery whereof, there were shot off from the Castle seven pieces of Ordnance, and, three Vollies of small shot. By all which may appear, how sincerely this Authour applieth the diffidence between the Dutch and the King of Ternata, which was now none at all, to this business of *Amboyna*.

B

The next point is, that the Ternatans in the *Molluccos* went about also to make truce with the Spaniards, without consent or knowledge of the Dutch; wherein

this

this dealing of the Authour is worse than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Journals, to have been holden the 19 of July 1623. which was five moneths after the execution of the English at *Ambogna*, and so came too late to move suspicion against them.

And yet this pretended fear and jealousie of the *Molluccos* is further amplified by the strength of the *Spaniard*. being then (as this Authour affirmeth) Master of the Sea there, and that by default of the English; who, contrary to the Treatie of the year 1619, had deserted the defence, and sent no more ships, neither to the *Molluccos*, nor to the *Malliaes*: whence now the *Spaniards* had means to send Ships, Gallies, and Pinnaces, to the *Molluccos*. What the strength of the *Spaniard* in the *Molluccos* (by Sea) was, at the time of this pretended fear, may appear by the exploits before mentioned, done upon them by the *Curriturries* of the *Ternatans*, without help of the *Hollanders*. But for the de-

C



fault of the *English*, which is  
 here odiously alledged, it will be  
 requisite to set down the true  
 causes, wherefore the *English* re-  
 linquished the action of defence,  
 as well at the *Manillias*, as else-  
 where; being a matter much ag-  
 gravated upon all occasions by  
 the *Hollanders*, albeit themselves  
 have given the cause thereof.  
 Wherefore shortly, the true mo-  
 tives of the *English*, their desisting  
 from the action of defence, were  
 as followeth. The *English* had by  
 agreement of the Council of de-  
 fence, two years together main-  
 tained a Fleet of five tall & war-  
 like ships, to joyn with the like  
 strength of the *Hollanders*, for the  
 action of the *Manillias*, and the  
 profit of the Voyage ( as the  
 charge ) to be common to both  
 Companies. The *Dutch* prepared  
 another Fleet of seven ships, all of  
 their own, for *Macao*, bordering  
 upon *China*, near the *Manillias*,  
 without giving knowledge there-  
 of to the *English* at *Jaccatra*, until  
 their Fleet was ready to depart  
 thence; well knowing, that up-  
 on such warning it would be im-  
 pos-

possible for the *English* to prepare a like force to joyn with them. To those they appointed also eight *Pinaces* that were then abroad, to joyn; and afterwards sent another Ship with provisions unto them. This Fleet passing by two of the *English* Ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the *Manillias*; the *English* welcomed them, and offered to joyn with them in their exploit: which the *Dutch* refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their own, the *English* should neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the Council of defence of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten Ships set forth at the equal charge of the *English* and *Dutch*, for the coast of *Mallabar*, to secure the Trade in that part. Of the *Dutch* Ships (about a moneth after they set sail) two were found to be so weak and leak, that they were fain to return to *Jaccatra*. The rest being come to their quarter, two of the best of the *Dutch* Ships were

sent away by the *Dutch* Admiral for the Red-sea, contrarie to their instructions and Commission *Jaccatra* from the Councel of defence, and notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations and exclamations of the *English* against this prevarication. So that four *Caracks* of the *Portugals* coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the *English* and *Dutch* being thus weakened by the default of the four *Dutch* ships aforesaid; the fairest opportunity that ever happened either before or since the joyning of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, or is ever likely to offer it self in the future, was lost and utterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the *Dutch* have to complain of the *English* for deserting the action of defence, and what reason and encouragement the *English* have to continue the joynt action and charge with those that use so little sincerity, ever contriving the common actions and charge to their private advantage; that when the joint forces are employed to give the enemy work in one part,

part, they (the *Hollanders*) might with ease oppress them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselves.

The next suspicion that this author gathereth, is from the insolencies of the *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, & thereabouts; who (as this Author saith) presumed now beyond former example, to outrage the Subjects of the *Dutch*, slaying them, & carrying them away for slaves, yea, burning two of their houses, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manichels*: for which, when the Governour went out with a Fleet to crave justice and reparation, he was braved by the *Ternatans* with a stronger Fleet than his own; yea, they threatened to come with an hundred *Curricurries* against *Amboyna*.

This dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treaty of peace with the *Tedorians*, and since with the *Spaniards*. For when the Governour of *Amboyna* set forth the last Fleet of *Curricurries* before the apprehension of the *English*, he stood in good terms with the *Ternatans* at *Lobo*.

neither of the Factories here mentioned, being then burnt or injured. The Governour then went onely, according to his yearly custom, to visit the skirts and out-parts of *Amboyna*, and had no affront offered him. After that, upon occasion of a Slave of the *English* that ran away, and being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man of or near that part; the *English* craved assistance of the *Dutch* Governour, who did his best, but was therein abused by those of *Lobo*; and not onely some of his men outraged, but the *English* Factor *M. Beemont* (to whom this Slave belonged) was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and in stead of him, one of the servants of the *Dutch* was slain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next day also, was *Beemont* himself assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy mans people, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Grigs*, another of the *English* Factors, that finding the said Slave at *Lobo*, laid hold on him there.



there. Upon this occasion, both the *English* and *Dutch* left their *Factorie* at *Lobo*, which was shortly after burnt by those *Ternatans*. That other, touching the burning of the *Factorie* at *Manichels*, is more grossely applied than the former; for that *Factorie* was burnt after the *English* were apprehended: besides that, this Author dissembleth that there was a vehement and common suspicion at *Amboyna*, that this *Factory* at *Manichels* was burnt, not by the *Ternatans*, but by the *Dutch* *Factor* himself, who, being there alone, was said to have first conveyed away the goods of the *Dutch* and the *English* there for his own use, and then to have burnt the *Factorie*; laying the fact upon the *Ternatans*.

After this ended, the Governour of *Amboyna* made out a Fleet of *Curricurries*, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braved by those *Ternatanes* of *Amboyna*. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the *English*; and so

so is as honestly applied to move suspicion in this place, as the joynt quarrel of the *English* and *Dutch* with those of *Lobo*, beginning upon occasion of the *English*, and as the burning of the *Factorie* at *Manichels*, done after the *English* were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the threats of the *Ternatans* here mentioned, that they would come with 100. *Curricurries* against *Amboyna*, it is (for ought any of the *English* ever heard) a meer fiction; at most, it was a vain bragge, and such as could not affright the Governour, that knoweth well that the *Ternatans* have no gun-powder, nor other provisions for such an exploit; and yet are far behind the Governour of *Amboyna* for number of *Curricurries*, besides the *Dutch* ships and *Cassles*.

E

The next cause of suspicion, this Authour makes to be an idle report in the East parts beyond *Banda* (uncertain which, or by whom) that the *Hollanders* were already quit of their Castle at *Amboyna*. A poor pretēce, & not worthy to be answered; yet still further dis-

discovering what penurie of good matter this author had, that he was fain to borrow such crazie stuffe.

But the last, and that which alone is expressly applyed to the *English*, is, That about this time the *Dutch* understood, that those of *Lobo* and *Cambello* held great and secret correspondence with the *English*. How did the *Dutch* understand this? or why doth not this Authour express the particular proof, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the *English* had their Factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*; but in the same houses with the *Dutch*; and for their joynt accompt, and had Traffick with the Countrey-people, as the *Dutch* had, but what secret correspondence is this? or what danger to the *Dutch*? Was the burning of the Factories, which belonged to the *English* as well as to the *Dutch*, a note of good intelligence between the *English* and the *Incendiaries*? What was that for correspondencie with those of *Lobo*, when at one time they way-laid M. Beomont to kill him, and

and at another time shot him in the hand with an Arrow, offered to kill *Williams Grigs* ; and from time to time abused and outraged our People, equally with, and as the *Dutch* ? further, our People as well as the *Dutch*, had now dissolved their Factorie at *Lobo*, and were come all thence. What Letters or Messages did they ever send thither afterwards ? or how, and by what means maintained they this correspondence ? Yet this was understood, saith this Relation. How understood ? Perhaps by the Governours dreams: for that (as he afterwards told *M. Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from *Banda*) was a motive to him to examine the first *Japon*, which was the beginning of the whole process.

G The Authour having thus quit himself in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it self, first setting down the occasion and manner of the discoverie of this pretended plot, and then the confessions of the *Japons* and of the *English* : but he maketh no  
menti-

mention of any torture used upon the *Japons* that first confessed, nor of any other *indicium* or presumption to torture or examine that *Japon*; but onely his curious questioning, touching the setting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Castle: which, what sufficient *indicium* and cause it was to torture a Souldier of their own, that serving them, had reason to desire to understand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the aid he might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter; is easily to be judged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his Countrey-men were tortured, appeareth in the English relation. Here also is concealed, by what manner and kind of questions, this and the other *Japons* were led along in their confessions, to make up the plot just as the *Dutch* had devised it: as also, what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the *English* both, confessed what the *Dutch* would have



have them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and feared with torture; *etiam innocenti cogit mentiri dolor*, But what likelihood or possibilitie there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed, as is here related) may appear by that which hath been already discoursed in this point, towards the end of the English Relation, which for brevities sake is here forborn to be repeated: yet some circumstances, which the *Dutch* Relation hath more than the *English*, deserve here to be examined. And first, that of *Abel Price* the English Barber, who is made the messenger and negotiator of this practice with the *Japons*. It is true, that he (and he alone of all the English) had some kind of conversation with some of the *Japons*, that is, he would dice and drink with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the *Dutch* also. But is it credible, that *Mrs Towerfon* would commit any thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this to a drunken debauched sot, who  
also

also (as the *English*, that were there, constantly report) threatened to cut his, the said *Towerfon's* throat, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanours? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confess, that all the *English* Merchants in the out-Factories, were privy and accessarie to this pretended treason: Yet the Governour and Fiscal in in their own processe found *John Powe!*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, and two other, guiltless.

After *Price* his confession, he sets down the general substance of all the confessions in one body; where first having assigned *M. Towerfon* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells us; that they made doubt of the point of possibility, (as well they might) knowing the weakness of their own part & impregnable strength of the *Dutch*, in comparison of theirs: for satisfaction of which their doubt, he saith, *M. Towerfon* told him that he had already won the *Japons* within the Castle to his purpose, and that he would attempt this matter; not when the  
*Dutch*

H

*Dutch* were at their full strength, and the *English* at the weakest, but would expect till the Governor should be somewhere abroad upon some exploit, and some *English* Ships, or Ship at least, at *Amboyna*; the people whereof he would use in the enterprize: Likewise he would send for the *Factors* and *Slaves* of the other *Factories*, and should have a supply from the *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, of certain *Curricuries*, &c.

I

Here he hath inrolled a goodly army for this action; but let us see the manner how they should have executed their exploit: and first for the *Japons* in the Castle, we must believe, if this Authour or his voucher say true, that Master *Towersson* had acquainted those, and won them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his own Countrey-men the *English*. And yet in the acts of the process, *Emanuel Tomson* is recorded to have confessed, that 8. dayes after the consultation, Master *Towersson* told him, that he had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to treat with the *Japons*, and win their

their consent to this enterprize. But what should the'e ( being all ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ten ) have done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Mr. *Towerson* had ordeined, that eight of them should have been bestow- ed, by two in a company, upon the four points of the Castle to kill all those that would resist them, and to take the rest Prisoners. It must be ( therefore ) here imagined, that the *Dutch* and their *Mardikers* in their Castle, being three or four hundred, would scorn to take the advantage of sending fortie or fiftie; much more of an entire company to any point of the Castle, but would combate with the *Japons* at even hand by two at a time, and so give the *Japons* leave and respite to kill or take them by two and by two. A sweet conceit, and such a service as perhaps hath been sometimes represented upon a stage, but never acted in surprise of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the *Japons* were to be imployed; what should the other two have done?

done? forsooth they should have waited in the great chamber to murder the Governour. Yet but this relation told us yet while, that this plot should have been executed when the Governour was abroad upon some action. How then should these two *Japons* have killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But we see how all the *Japons* (that is) all the pretended party of the *English* within the Castle, should have been occupied. Who should have opened the gates to the English, and their other aids? who should have killed the Court of guard at the Gate? These parts were left for them that were without; therefore let us take a review of them, what they were. The Relation mustereth them to be fourteen English, whereof eleven were Merchants; one Steward of the house, one Tailor, and one Barber, to dress the wounded, besides God knows how many English shippers, Slaves, and *Ternatans*: First, for the English Merchants, of what dexterity they are to take Forts, is easily



easily judged ; and in all the  
*English* house, when it was seized  
 by the *Dutch*, upon this pretend-  
 ed Treason, the whole Provision  
 was but three Swords, two  
 hand-guns, and about half a  
 pound of Powder. Yea, but the  
*English* ship or ships would have  
 brought both fitter men and  
 better provision. But how knew  
 Master Tower-son that those of the  
*English* ships, when they came,  
 would joyne with him in this  
 work, being so contrary to the  
 Treaty, and it self so danger-  
 ous? or why did he not stay the  
 opening of the Plot till this  
 ship or ships were come, that he  
 might swear the shippers also, or  
 at least the chief Officers amongst  
 them, and take their advice? Is  
 it possible that Master Tower-  
 son was so slight, as to open his  
 plot to all the *English* at Amboy-  
 na, yea, to the Tailor and Bar-  
 ber, so long before it was to be  
 put in execution, and before he  
 knew the minds of his chiefest  
 assistants, of whose arrival he was  
 so uncertain? Yea, but he was  
 sure of the Slaves of the *English*,  
 and

and of the *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet eventum*. This indeed is the remainder of the Army; let us view them. The Slaves were, in all the English Factories, just fix in number, and all boys: The *Ternatans* were Enemies as well to the *English* as to the *Dutch*, as is before shewed in answer to the Preface. When were they reconciled? how cometh it, that in all the examinations of the *English*, this point was not sifted, and somewhat confessed of it amidst so many Tortures? There is no confession thereof in all the examinations; and Mr. *Tower-son* in his expressely denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Governour and Fiscal of *Ambeyna* knew, that what ever had been confessed in this point, would not have been believed by their own People there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach between the *Dutch* and *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, was about the Slave of the *English*: and the outrages thereupon following, were

were done upon the *English*, as well as upon the *Dutch*. Yet this Authour seems to hope, that that may be believed here in *Europe*, which had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was not (as the Relation saith) yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the Conspiratours, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerfon* had prepared all things, &c. Here was certainly a hot practice of Treason, and worthy to be tearmed by this Authour, An horrible conspiracie. They met together on New years day, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the five and twentieth of *February*, and not onely nothing done all this *Interim*, but not so much as a new consultation. But this (forsooth) is the body and substance of the unanimous confession of all the *English*, by themselves severally subscribed. In the next place the Authour relateth somewhat singular in *M. Towerfon's* confession; as that he said, he

was

K

L

was moved to this fact by hope and desire of honour and profit: and being demanded from whom he attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Castle, his answer was, That if he could have compassed his project, he would forthwith have given advertisement thereof to the rest of his Nation at *Jaccatra* (which now they have christened *Batavia*,) and have craved their aid: which if they had yielded to him, then he would have held the Castle for the *English* Company; and if not, then he would have kept it for himself, and have used means to have agreed with the *Indians*; and so, by one means or other, would have compassed the enterprize.

Here first is to be observed, that he would not (as this Author makes him speak) have sent for aid to *Jaccatra*, until he were first Master of the Castle; and yet in the general confession before, it is said, he would attend the coming of some *English* ships or ship, before he would adventure upon the Castle. Next, let the

ambiguous and alternative resolution, here said to be confessed by Master *Towerfon*, be considered in both the parts thereof, and it will appear, that no man in his wits would have any such conceit as is here pretended. What hope could Master *Towerfon* have, that the President and *English* Council at *Jiccatra*, living under command of the *Dutch* Fort there, and altogether Subject to the *Hollanders*, durst join in any such action, thereby to give occasion to the *Hollanders* to arrest, torture and condemn them of Treason? Master *Towerfon* knew well enough that about six Moneths before, the General of the *Dutch* at *Jiccatra*, had caught at a very slight occasion to entrap the *English* President there: who having sent out two of his people in the night to the *English* Cow-house, to see what watch the *Blacks* in their service kept over their Cattel; the said two *English* were apprehended by the *Dutch* Souldiers, kept in prison seven dayes, and charged, that they had said, that

G

they



they went the Round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the *Balieu* (the Officer of the *Dutch* in Criminal causes,) that his fellow had confessed, that they had said they went the Round, and that by the *English* Presidents Commission; and if he would not confess the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow, being constant in the truth, came off at last without torture, yet this was *Item* enough to the *English* President and Council, how the intent of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon the least occasion: and this, and other daily captious dealings of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertised from time to time to M<sup>r</sup>. *Tower-son*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselves in in such a predicament. The other part of M<sup>r</sup>. *Tower-son*'s resolution is said to have been, To keep the Castle for himself, and to agree with the *Indians*, in default of help from the *English*. This is yet more improbable than the former.

Were

Were the *Portugals* and *Indians* not able to keep out the *Dutch* from *Amboyna*, when they had no footing there; and shall Captain *Towerfon*, with twenty or thirty *English* and *Japons*, without ship or Pinnace, be able, with the help onely of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out, having already three Castles in the Islands of *Amboyna*, and at *Cambello* hard by, all well furnished with men and provision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could Master *Towerfon* hope to win the *Amboynazes* (the *Hollanders* sworn Subjects) to his side? He might rather assure himself, that after he had mastered the *Hollanders* (if yet that must be believed to be possible,) the *Amboynazes* would have surprized him, and cast him out (being so weakly provided to stand of himself,) that so they might utterly free themselves from their servitude. Here also must be remembered, that this Author himself in his preamble saith, that

the *Indians* themselves durst not undertake any such great design (as he there feineth) against the State of *Amboyna*, without some great aid of some Nation of Europe, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, or some other. Whereby is not onely confessed, how weak the *Indians* of themselves are; but withall it followeth, how small hope Mr. *Towerson* might have, being deserted of his own Nation (as here the case is put,) to hold the Castle for himself by the help of those *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it. In a word; they that know the power of the *Hollanders* in *Amboyna* and thereabouts, and the weakness of the poor *Indians* there, will judge this conceit of Master *Towerson's* (to keep the Castle for himself) to be a mad plot; and for which, Master *Towerson* should rather have been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dullen Kist* (as the *Dutch* call it,) than to the Gallows.

M

But this Authour hath one voluntarie confession, upon which he taketh special hold; to wit

that

that Master *Towerson*, after his examination was finished, being expostulated withall by the *Dutch* Governour, and demanded whether this should have been the recompense of his (the Governours) manifold courtesies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to do, it should never be done. *This voluntarie confession and penitent acknowledgement, with this Authour, was made the ninth of March, being the day when the execution was to be done: but the examination of Tower-son was ended the eight and twentieth of February, so many dayes before. But how shall we believe this? Forsooth, he hath it out of the Acts of the Process of Amboyna. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many material passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guiltie of addition, as well as of such mutilation and omission? But let us peruse the words of the Act it self, which are these:*

**W**E whose names are hereunto subscribed, to declare upon our troth, in stead of an oath, that Gabriel Towerlon, after that he had been already examined touching his said offence, and that the Worshipfull Governour Van Speult had expostulated with him thereupon, asking him whether this should have been the recompense of his courtesies from time to time shewed unto him, the said Towerlon: thereupon he, the said Towerlon, with a deep sigh answered him, and said, Oh! if this were to be begun again, it should never be done. Actum this ninth of March, in the Castle of Amboyna, and subsigned.

Harman van Speult.  
 Laurence de Maerschallck.  
 Clement Kerffe-boom.  
 Harman Cray-vanger.  
 Peter van Zanten.  
 Leonarc Clock.

Thus we see the Act it self, and this pretended voluntarie confession of M<sup>r</sup>. Towerlon; which is not delivered upon the credit of the



the Court or Councel at *Amboyne* (and yet how small that is, is before shewed) but upon the Attestation or Affidavit of the Governour and five others, the principal actors in this bloudy Tragedie: And this not upon their Oath, but upon their troth, or honest word (forsooth) in stead of an Oath. The time when these words were uttered by Mr. *Townson*, is not described by the day when he spake them, but onely by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not onely an usual and customarie solemnity, and requisite in all such Attestations; but also in a business of this nature altogether necessarie: as likewise in this case, that of the place was. For if these words were spoken in the place of Torture, or incontinently after the examination ended, they are by their own Law, esteemed no more voluntarie, than the confession upon the Rack it self. Neither yet doth this Attestation affirm, that this confession was voluntarie. But this Authour, unconscionably

reporting the date of the Attestation , for the time of the confession , collects it to be voluntarie , because (as he saith) it was made the ninth of March, being so many dayes after his examination . which was taken the 28. of February. Can a man attest nothing but what was done upon the very day when he maketh Affidavit ? The Attestation saith, that these words were spoken by M. *Towers*, after he had been already examined. Why may not that have been rather upon the very day of his examination, than upon the day when this Act was entred ; if yet he ever spake any such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted ? the contrary whercof is the more probable by all the circumstances of this business , truly set down in the Relation of the *English*.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of M. *Towers* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary confession; it is plain how destitute he was of voluntarie confessions, and of all true and con-

concluding circumstances. What? was there not a Letter or other Paper, to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the *English*, so suddenly seized at *Amboyna*, *Larica*, *Hitto*, and *Cambello*, to discover this treason? nor amongst so many complices of diverse Nations, a false brother to betray the rest, and to accule them voluntarily; but the process must begin with the Torture, and the Heathens confession upon Torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to Torture, the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture upon the sober, orderly, and unstained? And yet this Relation it self confesseth, that *Price's* confession was drawn from him by the Examiners specifying of place, person and time unto him. Certainly one of their own Nation had reason to advice, that more Advocates might be sent over to the *Indies*, to aid the accused, to make a legal answer: For, saith he, they go to work there so villanously and murderously, that the bloud of the poor

I

*Demon-  
stration to  
the Lords  
States,  
touching  
the govern-  
ment of the  
Majores.*

people crieth to Heaven for vengeance.

But why have we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Price*, and *M<sup>r</sup>. Tomerson*, and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellows, or confess more than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that he was at *Amboyna* upon New-years day, when ten or twelve of the *Dutch* themselves witnessed he was at *Hitto*? Where is his confession of *Clarks* plot to go to *Maccassar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there, to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two Moneths and a half before his examination, undertaken by *Tomson*, *Jobrson*, *Price*, *Brown*, *Fardo*, and himself? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the *Dutch*, lest otherwise there had been as many several Treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deal more of this kind, which is here  
in

in *England* proved by the oath of six credible persons, to have passed in the examinations. Whereby appeareth, how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* have entered the Acts of this process. Well, at last he concludes the Narration of the confessions, with the summing up of the number and Nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, he saith, were ten *Javons* fourteen *English*, and the *Neatherlandish* *Marnicho*, or Captain of the Slaves. By which last words, he would give the Reader occasion to think, that the fact was so clear, and their own proceeding so even and just, that they had executed one of their own *Neatherlanders* for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the *English* Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the *Portugal* race, and born in *Bengala*. His very name, *Augustin Perez*, sheweth, he was no *Neatherlander*.

Having thus finished this Relation, this Authour proceedeth to a disputation: and taking notice



rice of some aspersions in *England* cast upon these proceedings at *Amboyna*, he divideth them into two heads; the one, that the process was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excess and extremitie used against the Conspiratours. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great pains to prove, that the formalities of process in *Amboyna*, are not therefore unlawfull, because they agree not with our form in *England*. Which labour he might have spared: for no wise man will denie him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also he deduceth the Title of the Lords States General to the Sovereignty of *Amboyna*; and so the Governour of *Amboyna's* Jurisdiction, in causes as well Criminal as Civil, to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japons* being sworn servants to the *Dutch*, and in their pay, were Subject to the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governour.

Then

Then he telleth us , that the Author, and complices of murther and treason , are by the Laws of all Nations to be punished with death ; all which points may be granted him without any prejudice to the cause of the *English* in this question.

At last he comes in particular to their case , and affirms , that the chief of the *English* there might not apprehend the *English* complices of this conspiracie, because themselves were complices of the fact. All which also may be granted in this point of apprehension , and safe custodie: but how it may proceed also in the point of cognisance , shall be anon in due place examined.

In the mean time , this Author , to make the point of apprehension clear beyond exception, saith, that the *English* were not apprehended upon the first suspicion , when yet there was evidence , and *indicia* sufficient to it ; but after the examination of all the *Japons* and their joynt confession , that the *English* , whom they specified by name and

O

P

and surname, had moved and hired them to this treason : yea, not until *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the *English* in the out-Factories were privy thereunto. For answer hereof, that must be repeated which hath been upon other occasions before alleadged; that the first beginning of the process, was by the Torture, there being no sufficient evidence or *indiciu*m to Torture the *Japon*, that onely sought to enform himself of the course of the Watch, and of the strength of the Castle, wherein himself was a Souldier : and so the whole Series of the examination proceeding from the confession of one Tortured person, to apprehend and Torture another, without other evidence; though it brought forth more confessions, and those with name and surname, and other circumstances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Governour and Fiscal led the prisoners, was wholly against the form and rule of all Laws of Tortures.

*Scilicet*

*Scilicet in fabrica si prava est regula  
prima,  
Cetera mendose fieri, atque obstipa  
nece sse est.*

But here must be answered an objection that may be made against this, from another part of this relation, that is, that some of the *English* confessed without or before Torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not Tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea, but he was shewed the Tortured bodies of the poor *Japons*, martyred with fire and water, and told, that unless he would confess that, which they told him they had first confessed, he should be Tortured as ill, or worse than they. This fear of Torture is by their own Law, equalled to the Torture it self, and consequently, the confession thereupon made no better *indiciu*m or evidence to bring another man to the Torture, than the confession made upon the Rack it self. Again, it must be here remembered, that the very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the *English* •  
Mer-

Merchants of the out-Factories, were privy to the pretended treason; was refuted by the process of the *Dutch* themselves, that found *Powel*, *Ramsay*, and two others of those Factories guiltless.

Q Next, this Authour taketh notice of an objection made in *England* against the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governour, and his Council at *Amboyna*, over the *English* there; because this power is, by the Treatie of the year 1619. disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Council of defence of both Nations at *Jaccatra*. For information in which point this Authour saith, he hath perused over all the several Articles of the said Treatie, and findeth in the 23. Article, that the Fortresses were to remain in the hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Council of defence hath no other power, but onely over the Fleet of defence, over the commerce, and finally, to tax the charges of maintenance of



of the Forts : But he could not see the thirtieth Article ; which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Council of defence , should be remitted into *Europe* ; first, to the two companies there , and in default of their agreement , to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in ? There is nothing in the former Articles , to limit the Council of defence ; and this general Article appeareth to be added by way of ampliation , to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former. Which is most plain by the words of the explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the first , and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides , Anno 1619. where this course of proceeding is expressly directed , not onely in disputes about the meaning of the Articles , but also about any other matter hapning in their common abroad. Since which also the Kings Majestie hath, upon a smaller occasion, than the life of his

Sub-

Subjects, clearly declared himself in the point of Sovereigntie; That both Nations in the *Indies* should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof. Which Declaration was sent to the Lords States General, and by them accepted before this bloudie butcherie was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Hollanders* are absolute Lords of their partners, the *English*, in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the *Hollanders* in *Amboyna* are bound to observe the Laws of the united Provinces; for so saith this Authour himself. Do these allow to begin the process at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the rack, upon others confession made in the torture? Do their Laws allow of the leading interrogatories above mentioned to direct the prisoner what to say, to avoid the torture? Where, in the United Provinces, is that drowning with water in use? or the torture with fire, used to *Johnson*, *Tompson*, and *Clark*? or especially the splitting of their toes, and launcing of the breast, and putting

ing in Gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocencie, nor execution? *Clark* and *Tomson* were both fain to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many days before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictorie, apparently false, and of things impossible to be done, much less practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their law to have been believed, nor the prisoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or evidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excess of torture whereof ( he taketh notice ) there is much complaint in *England*; and saith, That the Lords States General take great care to inform themselves of all the passages of this business, and to that end have desired to see all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers that concern this proceſſe: by which it appeareth not, that there was  
any

any cruel torture used. But suppose the Acts make no mention of them; is it any marvel that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous process, being themselves the persons that also formed the Acts, would omit those things that made against them? It is to be presumed also, that the Acts kept by their people at *Polo-way* in *Banda*, have omitted many things of their process, against the poor *Polaroons*, whom in *August* 1622, being about 6 months before this execution of the *English*, their Governour there used in like sort, as the Governour of *Amboyna* did the *English*, and gave him a Model and precedent of this process; which it will not be amiss to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place alleadgeth the mercifull disposition of the *Netherlands* Nation in general; to inferr thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Governour at *Amboyna* was so cruel as is reported in *England*.

*Polaroon*, one of the Islands of *Banda*, was in possession of the *English* at the time of the Treatie,

*Anno*

Anno 1619, and by the agreement was to remain theirs. After the Treatie came to the *Indies*, the *Hollanders* forbore the publishing thereof in the Islands of *Banda*; untill they had taken *Polaroon*. But, knowing that it must be restored again, according to the Treatie, they first take all courses to make the Island little or nothing worth: they demolish and deface the Building, transplant the Nutmeg trees plucking them up by the roots, and carrying them into their own Islands of *Nera* and of *Poloway*, there to be planted for themselves; and at last find a means to dispeople the Island, and to leave it so, as the *English* might make no use of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occasion: There was a young man, the son of an *Orankey*, or a Gentleman in *Polaroon*, that had committed Felonie; for which by the Laws of his Countrey, he was to die. This fellow, to save his life, fled to another Island of *Banda*, called *Rofinging*, and there turned Christian: but quickly understanding, that



that that would not make him safe from punishment, he went back secretly to his own countrey of *Polaroon*; and, having lurked there a few days, took his passage for *Nera*, another Island, where the *Dutch* have a Fort; and told the *Dutch* Governour, that the *Orankeys* of *Polaroon* had conspired to Massacre the *Dutch*, as well at *Polaroon*, as at *Poloway*, with help of the people of *Seran*, that should send over thirtie *Curricuries* for that purpose. Immediately upon this *indicium* of this Malefactor, certain Prows, or Fisher-boats of the *Polaroons*, that were fishing at *Poloway*, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the *Dutch* Governour to *Polaroon*; that the *Orankeys* should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the *Polaroons* and seventie *Orankes* instantly took a Prow or small vessel of their own, and embarked themselves for *Poloway*. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the *Dutch* Castle, they were met

by a Fisher-boat of *Bandanezes*, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to *Poloway*, they were all but dead men. Nevertheless, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to have escaped to *Seran* and other places safe enough from the *Hollanders*, yet were so confident of their innocence, that they would needs to *Poloway* to purge themselves. Where, as soon as they were arrived, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and with all the Governour, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for *Polaroon*; whence he fetched all the rest of the *Orankeys*, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soon as they were come, they were presently brought to the torture of water and fire, even in the same sort as our people were afterwards at *Amboyna*; onely herein differing, that of those at *Poloway*, two were so tortured, that they died in their Tortures, the rest, being one hundred and sixtie two persons, were all, upon

upon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the *Mallaian* tongue: All ye, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it: we have committed no fault. And when he would have spoken more, he was taken by the hands and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Governour caused the Wives, Children, and Slaves of those of *Polaroon*, to be all carried out of the Island, and distributed in other Islands subject to the *Dutch*; and so have made a clear Countrey for the *English*, where they may both plant and gather themselves, destitute of the help of any of the Countrey people; without whom, neither the *English* nor *Hollanders* can maintain their Trade in the *Indies*. And yet this is not here recited, to the end thereby to charge the *Netherlands* Nation with those cruel proceedings, but the persons themselves

that

that have committed those Barbarous Tyrannies: Who, if we shall believe an Authour of their own, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Majors (as this Authour sayes) use the Indies as a *Tusket-house* or *Bride-well*, to manage their unruly and unchristy children and kindred; whom, when they cannot rule and order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to Offices and places of Government. Yea, saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as never saw Studie nor Law. So that it is no marvel, that such persons proceed not with that justice and moderation as is used generally in the Low-Countries, by the choice of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credite, that came lately from *Amboyna*; who aver, that, excepting the Governour himself, who is well stept in years, of the rest of the Council there, as well the Fiscal as others, there was scarce any that had hair on their faces. Yea, that most

Not.  
wendich  
discourse,  
printed  
An. 1622.  
under the  
name of  
Ymant  
van Waer  
mond.

of them are lewd drunken debauched persons ; and yet must be Judges as well of our *English*, as the poor *Indians* there.

Now to return to this Authours proofs , that there was no excess used in the proceedings ; at the last he taketh one Argument by way of comparison , from the Law of *England*, to press men to death : which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of Torture , used by the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and is holden , as well by some Authours of our own Nation as others , for damnable. How pertinently is this matter of pressing alledged , for justifying of their Tortures , since no man in *England* is pressed for not confessing , which is the cause of Torture in *Dutchland* ? But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the Trial of his Countrey, and challengeth the Judges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him : which he doth (for the most part) to save his goods which , but by that ordinary course of Trial , cannot be confiscated.



fiscate. What is this to the point  
 of confession , for refusal where-  
 of, the *Dutch* use the Torture ?  
 And yet no man blameth them  
 for proceeding according to the  
 Law of their Countrey herein ;  
 nor yet in their execution , when  
 they break the legs , arms and  
 thighs of the Malefactours , and  
 then set them upon a wheel on  
 the end of a great pole , there to  
 languish to death : an execution  
 far more direfull than the *Eng-  
 lish* pressing , which is so sudden-  
 ly done , and so seldom used.  
 But why doth he not name the  
 Authour of our own or forreign  
 writers, which condemn this  
 kind of execution ? Let him do  
 it yet, and he shall have moe Au-  
 thours of his own Countrey that  
 condemn their course of Tor-  
 tures : and yet the *English* com-  
 plain not of the course in gene-  
 ral, but of the unlawfull use of it;  
 contrarie to the rules of the  
 Laws even of the United Pro-  
 vinces. Lastly , in this point the  
 Authour pretendeth , that little  
 or no Torture was used in this  
 process. What the Torture was,

and in what degree , appears in the *English* Relation : but he can find little or none mentioned in the *Acts*. What if he will not find it? or what if their Officers of *Amboyna* have concealed it? Shall we not believe those that suffered it themselves? shall we not believe those, that being themselves acquitted, yet heard the cries, and saw the bodies of *Johnson, Clark, and Tompson*, and have confirmed their Relation by their corporal Oaths? As for the *Act* of the five and twentieth of February, which this Authour hath here transcribed; it cannot be a true *Act*: for therein it is said, that that day all the *English* were examined one by one, and some before Torture, and some after confessed the Fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the *English* Relation, but by this very Authour in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the same five and twentieth day of February; but that the examination continued six dayes together, even to the third of March inclusive. How then could

could the Act of the five and twentieth of February have all their confessions? By this may appear, what credit may be given to these Acts, or else to this Authour. Here also by the way he tels us of the deliberation of their Council; whether the punishment of the Fact might be respited, or the cause removed: wherein it was resolved, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake; and might not be respited, for fear lest the Conspiratours (as he tearms them) might have more Dependances than yet were known; and in particular, the *Ternatans* and other *Indians* about *Amboyna*. A poor pretext: as if, having all the *English* in Irons aboard their several ships, they should need to fear their joyning with the *Ternatans*. But it may be, they feared some *English* ships also to come thither: for so they had made their own people believe. And therefore, two ships being descried at Sea, the *Dutch* and their free *Burghers* cried out, That there were the *English* that

H 3

should

should have holpen to take the Castle : but when they arrived, they proved to be two ships of the *Hollanders* come from *Jaccatra* ; wherein was a Letter from the President of the *English* there , to call away Captain *Towerson* and all the *English* from *Amboyna* to *Jaccatra*. Which Letter was opened and read by the *Dutch* Governour, while our people were yet in prison , and not executed ; and might well have secured him, that there was no further danger to be feared of the *English* aids of shipping, what-ever the *English* prisoners had through Torture confessed.

At last the Authour comes to the sentence it self, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March , That the Colledge of Judges being then competent, and calling upon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournfull assembly , to preside in their hearts , and inspire them with equity and Justice ; proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed,

and

and yet no prayer at all made? or if there were any such prayer, yet the proceedings well weighed, will shew it to be but like *Jezebel's* Fast, the preparative to the false judgement against *Naboth*. Neither will the wise and indifferent Judges of this whole matter, conceive the better of the cause, for the Hypocritical formalities therein observed.

Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a justification, yea, an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* against the *English*; not finding the least to be blamed to the *Dutch*, but aggravating the crime of the *English* very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot amongst other things, was against the great means of the *Netherlands East-India* Company: as if a conspiracie to rob them, (if any such had been) must needs be Treason, or as if the intent onely in any Crime but treason, were Capital.

Thus have we examined this strained justification of that most  
Bar-



Barbarous and execrable process  
of *Amboyna*; consisting of a pre-  
amble, full of false and forged  
suspicious; a Narration of the  
Fact, fraught with ridiculous  
absurdities, contrarieties, and im-  
possibilities, and of a dispute of  
impertinences, with conceal-  
ment of the main grounds of the  
*English* griefs. All which veri-  
fieth that of *Papinian*; That Par-  
ricides are more easily commit-  
ted than defended.

F I N I S.

( I )



# R E M A R K S

upon the fore-going

H I S T O R I E.

**T**O husband the  
Remainder of  
these Sheets the  
best that I can,  
to avoid impertinence,  
which is certainly the  
speaking of few things in  
many words ( though grave  
men use it ) and withall to  
clear up , or to say better,  
exaggerate one of the most  
criminal Stories that ever  
was, I presume to affix what  
considerations of mine I can  
set down; not out of any  
enmitie to the Nation, nor  
to rip up old soars, nor in

order to provoke a National jealousie , but upon a clear Intention , to let this Nation see, that as by Gods immediate hand , they are rescued out of the bondage of a Monarchy, so in requital of that mercie , they ought to look to be thankful for it. And as he hath provided for them beyond means and hopes , so they ought not to be wanting in any thing that may make appear their detestation of those offences that are in his eyes of anger , but seek by all their power and might , to acquit themselves.

For the nature of the plot; you have seen what it is, a design of a few *Japon-  
nesses* to surprise a Castle,  
whereas

whereas in it self, both as  
 they stood unfurnished with  
 arms, and unseconded with  
 ships, while their enemy  
 was strongly Garrisoned,  
 little better than a simple  
 impossibilitie, besides that,  
 there wanted an end to en-  
 courage and recompence  
 such an attempt; and it is  
 withall to be supposed, that  
 the *English*, in a matter of  
 that importance and dan-  
 ger, would have chosen o-  
 ther Confidants than a  
 number of *Japonesses*, a peo-  
 ple that any reasonable man  
 might from their barbaritie  
 suspect; and we are to note,  
 that in the examination of  
 the first *Japoness*, ( which  
 was the beginning of the  
 whole process, there were  
 no legal *indicia* found from  
 him,

( 4 )

him, the behaviour that he used, being no other than what may be used by any Souldier in the place where he serveth, other *indicia* there were none in the least, neither of provisions of the *English* for such an attempt, nor of correspondencies to that purpose, nor any other agreeing with the rules and examples given by the law or its expounders. Besides, it is not enough for to take a confession upon the Rack, God having not sent all men courage of bodies to endure high tortures (as

\*Collins, \* some in this tragedie, wearied with suffering, bade them propose what they would have them confess) but it is by Law required, that they should be iterated and

\*Collins,  
Beaumont,  
Sherrcock



and confirmed some days after, when the pain of the partie is over, and no further torment offered unto him. Now in this case, there is never a confession entered in the Acts of the Council of *Amboyna*, but it is forced from the parties themselves by unsupportable tortures, not one witness being either examined or deposed. Withall, if there had been as much guilt among the *English* as is suspected, why did none of them attempt, either to transport themselves in the *Curricuries*, and other vessels, that then departed as freely from *Amboyna* as at other times, as it was no hard matter, or seek to hide themselves: a guiltie conscience

ence being the insecurest thing in the world, and the *Faponnesses* being at that time at the torture.

Thus much for the probability of this dangerous machination; now for the legality of the proceeding of the *Dutch* thereupon, we will sit down and consider. The *English* that were tortured, were subject to an absolute Prince, independent of the *Hollander*, but in league with them: so they were friends and companions to the *Hollanders*, and not subjects, and were to be governed by their own Laws, or in case an offence given to the *Dutch*, by a joynt Company of both Nations. But the Governour of *Ambony-na*, took jurisdiction over them,

(7)

them, and therefore the whole proceeding had been illegal, had it been as gentle as it was cruel. Nor is it enough to say, that the subjects of another Countrey, offending against a Forreign jurisdiction ( under which they are at present ) ought to be punished by those Laws, for the *English* had an interest and share in the place, and there were, as I said before, as *socii*, not as *subditi*: not to say that there was no offence at all, so that the ground of the Objection is taken away. Nay, suppose that we had been under their jurisdiction, yet were the proceedings absolutely illegal: For they should have been agreeable to the custom of the *Low-*  
*Conn-*

*Countreys*, which those were not, and therefore it was an offence in the Governour, and a high one against the laws of his own *Countrey*. For all penal Laws, strictly circumstantiate, as well for executing just rigour, as for preventing of crueltie; and every Minister of Justice that transgresseth herein, as if he behead a man that is adjudged to be hanged, he renders himself little better than in the same capacitie. Yet notwithstanding, there was no just *indicium* for the torturing of the first *Japan*, nor any proofs against the *English*, but forced confessions of those tortured wretches, which for the most part were directed by the *Dutch*, *in his verbis*: which  
ground

ground of Torture is prohibited by their own Law.

For matter of Torture, if you have had the heart to survey it, I suppose you will think it needs neither heightning, nor shadowing, it is so foul of it self. For my part all the debauched cruelties of the first Roman Emperours, when the invention of a good exquisite Torment was a good way for advancement, though savage devices inflicted upon the Martyrs, when the continuance of persecution hardened and instructed cruelty; all those sanguinarie Barbarisms of the most unciviliz'd Nations have not appeared to me so foul and exquisite as this single process; and that  
by



by a people in league with us, of opinion with us in Religion, and obliged to us in effect for their being, purchased by us with the loss of so many brave lives, and the profusion of so much treasure, even in our own most dangerous times, when they were like to be swallowed up by a ravenous invader, and stood deserted by all their other neighbours; yet these men for the engrossing of that Trade, wherein they have been unhappily fortunate, could cancel all these obligations, and break the Laws of nature, nations, and hospitality to bring it about.

And truly me thinks upon this occasion, I cannot but look back on the felicity

city of those times , the excellencie of the Government , and the Honour of that Prince that could sleep so soundly , when such cries were so loud in his ears. This it is to be under the Government of *one* , who notwithstanding is governed by a *Pimp* or a *Parasite* , who though he have such a sacred trust as the safety and the righting of the people , yet to please his *Cate-mit* , and the better to sacrifice to his lust and luxurie , would be blind to such a violation of his own Honour , and the safety of his people , while the bloud cries in vain behind the Altar , and so becomes entayl'd on his own head , and for ought we know , may still lie  
upon

upon ours. But the *Dutch* knew well enough what an easie and secure Prince they had to deal with, and therefore like crafty Foxes adventured to play tricks with the old drowsie Lion; they knew well enough that the exorbitancies, prodigalities, and ill provisions of that Court would ever keep it beggarly and needy, and that there wanted not instruments in it that Gold would work upon: and therefore they had old *Fammy* fast enough besieged (though he were a place easie enough to take in of himself) so that this business was hushed up in silence for a little money, and the cautionarie Towns were sold for *nine pence*, which had

had cost us a *Noble* , they themselves laughing at the credulitie of that stupid Prince , that would give up so considerable places (which held them in aw, and preserved us ever a good means to right our selves) and thinking so great a masterpiece, that their engine, the *then* Secretarie, had a present of no less than 30. or 40000. *l.* for that one service. But the best of it is, the enchantment is now broke up , and we begin to rouse our selves again , and with the blessing of God upon our Liberty , may arrive at a higher pitch of glorie and happiness than any of our Ancestors : if they, that have overcome, sheath their swords (as God be

be thanked they do ) and they that are overcome lay aside their hates , as I wish they may. For so we shall grow up to be one body, and shall be formidable to all round about us , and be able rather to right our distressed Neighbours , than be in a capacity to receive injuries of the least , much less of the most horrid nature.

*F I N I S.*





nd  
ry  
sh  
ll  
y,  
co  
oe  
i-  
in  
re  
h  
a-